

# **Sociology and Social Research**

**AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL**

**Roles of Young People in South Africa . . . 235**  
J. B. DU TOIT

**Incomplete Socialization . . . . . 244**  
ARNOLD M. ROSE

**Cooperatives in Pakistan . . . . . 251**  
JOHN E. OWEN

**Stratification Study of Television Programs . 257**  
ALEXANDER P. RUNCIMAN

**High School Course in Marriage . . . . . 262**  
DOROTHY H. SCOTT

**Marriage and Divorce in Hawaii . . . . . 266**  
ROBERT C. SCHMITT

**Sociological Contributions of William Kirk . 269**  
EMORY S. BOGARDUS

**Pacific Sociological Notes . . . . . 279**

**Social Problems and Welfare 282**  
**Peoples and Culture . . . 287**

**Social Theory and Research 291**  
**Other Publications Received 303**

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# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

March-April 1960

## WORK AND LEISURE ROLES OF YOUNG PEOPLE

AN EMPIRICAL STUDY\*

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South Africa

The aim of this study is not to report on trends or to make generalizations for South African youth as such. The study was designed rather to throw some light on the place and function of leisure-time activities among certain groups of postschool young people who showed great diversity with reference to their place of origin, vocation, and socioeconomic status. Therefore, it was attempted in the empirical analysis to show the functional relation between the way they spend their leisure and their socioeconomic background. Because of lack of space, the general theoretical background on youth, labor, and leisure has been omitted.

### METHODS

An important consideration in the choice of areas was that one had to be relatively rural, or should at least have a large percentage of young people with an immediate rural background; the other area had to be urban.

Thus *Paarl* and *Johannesburg* were chosen.<sup>1</sup> The former could not be considered as rural in all aspects. But in *Paarl* it was possible to make

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\*A summary based on a thesis submitted for the Ph.D. (Sociology) at the University of Stellenbosch, Union of South Africa, November, 1956. The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of the Council for Social Research, Department of Education, Arts, and Science, from whom an *ad hoc* grant was received to do the field work.

<sup>1</sup> *Johannesburg*, a mining and industrial city, is the largest city in South Africa, with a population of over one million. *Paarl*, a fair-sized town with a total population of approximately 30,000, is 25 miles from Cape Town and in the heart of the wine and fruit-producing area of the Western Cape. Besides being an educational center with some of the oldest high schools and colleges in South Africa, it contains major textile and food-producing plants, tobacco factories, and one of the largest wine manufacturing concerns in the world.

contact with a few hundred young people of whom the majority (not more than 90 per cent) had migrated from rural areas to obtain employment there.

The information was collected by means of a questionnaire, interviews, participant-observation, and published and unpublished reports on youth organizations and clubs.

Information by means of a questionnaire was obtained from unmarried, white juveniles, both male and female, between the ages of 16 and 25. The distribution of the questionnaire was done personally and handed to the persons individually or in groups. Approximately 50 per cent of all questionnaires that were distributed were returned. For a relatively easy comparison of the urban and rural groups, an attempt was made to obtain an equal number in each area. When all the questionnaires had been received and checked, 403 from Johannesburg (265 males and 138 females) and 402 from Paarl (175 males and 227 females) were used for the final analysis.

Contact was made through various youth organizations, sports clubs, boarding houses, hostels for working youth, and places of employment like offices and factories.

Through personal interviews with young people, especially leaders of youth organizations and institutions, it was possible to supplement sources of information, especially those pertaining to attitudes and opinions of the people.

This sample of 805 young people represents the following occupational groups: professional and semiprofessional, 9.1 per cent; clerical and sales, 55.9 per cent; skilled and semiskilled, 32.0 per cent; 3 per cent were classified in the "student and other" categories. (In comparison with the total white labor force of the Union of South Africa, it was found that this distribution closely approximated the occupational distribution of the population.) The group studied should, therefore, be seen as representing the different socioeconomic classes to be found in contemporary town and also contemporary urban life in South Africa. The average age of the males was 21.3 years in Johannesburg and 21.8 in Paarl, while that of the females was 20.7 and 20.4 years, respectively. Of the total group, 51.6 per cent were under 21 years and 48.4 per cent over.

In terms of rural-urban extraction, it might be added that 30 per cent of the total group were born in an urban center, while 70 per cent came from rural areas, i.e., small towns or farms. During their school years 33.9 per cent had lived in a city and 66.1 per cent had finished their school careers in a rural area.



## WORK AND LEISURE

In this investigation the aim was to determine whether some significant relationship could be established between attitudes toward work and those toward leisure. An attempt was also made to find out whether certain tendencies prevailed more among certain occupational groups than among others.

Occupational mobility was a striking characteristic of the group. Of the total group, 36 per cent replied that they had already had other positions than those they occupied at the time of the survey. With reference to age and change in employment, it was found that 24 per cent of those between the ages of 16 and 20 years at the time of the survey had already had other jobs. Among those in the age group 20 to 25 years, the percentage increased to 48. No significant difference was found between the various occupational groups with reference to mobility. However, among the urban group occupational mobility was much more striking.

Next, the attitudes of the persons to their daily work were analyzed. They were asked whether they liked their work very much, were only satisfied with it, liked it sometimes, or did not like it at all. In the interpretation of answers to such a question, it should be realized that the differences between the various statements are only those of degree and not of kind. It is significant, however, that some clear tendencies were observed. Of the total number who answered this question (770), only 28 per cent indicated that they liked their work very much. On the other hand, 17 per cent answered that they liked this work only sometimes or disliked it. The rest—55 per cent—maintained that they were "satisfied" with their work.

A further analysis revealed that both males and females in the higher occupational groups—professional and semiprofessional—in general entertained a wide positive feeling regarding their daily work. However, the empirical data did not show a significant correlation between an extremely positive or negative attitude toward the work and certain occupational groups.

Next, the persons were asked whether they would like to change their work and, if so, which one of a number of statements best described their reason for wishing to do so. These statements, of which they had to check one, ranged from "social-psychological" ones to those pertaining to the salary and also the physical environment. Among the "social-psychological" statements were such as: "I do not get any opportunity for self-expression in my daily work" or "I think I have the ability to do a better type of work." Altogether, 478 (60 per cent of the total) responded to

this question. Of this group 29 per cent, contrary to expectation, checked one of the so-called "social-psychological" statements, indicating what can best be described as a "feeling of frustration" in their work. The rest ascribed their dissatisfaction to such factors as too small a salary (14 per cent), a working day that was too long or the annual leave that was too short (9 per cent), not liking their employer (5 per cent), or the physical surroundings were unattractive (3 per cent). Approximately 40 per cent did not give any specific reason.

Subsequently, the attitude toward the work was compared with the attitude toward leisure-time activities. In addition to the questions dealing with the attitudes toward the work, there was at the end of the questionnaire the question whether the daily work or the leisure-time activities gave them more satisfaction. Of the total number, 30 per cent maintained that their daily work gave them more satisfaction, 36 per cent preferred their leisure-time activities as a greater source of satisfaction, while 22 per cent stated that they had no specific preference. The most general answers among the last group were "both," "equally satisfying," or "the activities complement each other." There were 12 per cent who did not answer this question.

First, an analysis was made of the attitudes toward their work of the 30 per cent who had stated that their work gave them more satisfaction than their leisure-time activities. Second, it was determined what the attitudes toward their work were of the other polar group, namely, the 36 per cent who preferred their leisure-time activities as the greater source of satisfaction. The purpose of this correlation was to establish whether there was any relation between attitudes toward the work and those toward the spending of leisure as such. The hypothesis in this case was that among those who found more satisfaction in their leisure there would prevail a relatively negative attitude toward their work. On the other hand, it was expected that those who preferred their daily work to their leisure would reveal a relatively more positive attitude toward their work.

The empirical analysis statistically supported this hypothesis very strongly. In the group who showed a preference for the leisure-time activities, only 14 per cent of the men and 11 per cent of the women stated that they also liked their work very much. On the other hand, 30 per cent of the men and 30 per cent of the women maintained that they liked their work only sometimes, or that they disliked it.

Among those who mentioned work as the greater source of satisfaction was found a definitely more positive attitude toward their work. There

were 39 per cent of the men and 38 per cent of the women who liked their work very much, while only 8 per cent of the men and 9 per cent of the women answered that they liked it sometimes. No one in this category indicated a complete dislike for his work. This difference in attitude toward the work between the two groups was tested with the  $\chi^2$  technique and found to be statistically significant at the .01 level ( $\chi^2 = 68.85$ , D.F.2).

An analysis was also made of the occupational distribution in each of these two polar groups, i.e., those who preferred work and those who preferred leisure as the greater source of satisfaction. It is striking that all occupations were proportionally represented in both these groups. The data illustrated clearly that a relatively positive or negative attitude toward work or leisure was not a function of a certain occupational status. In so far as we are dealing here with a classification of different *kinds* of work, it seems evident that in all kinds of work are to be found those young people who derive relatively more satisfaction from the spending of their leisure than the doing of their work.

With this analysis an attempt was made to indicate the relation between work and leisure. It was clear that, for a significant percentage of youth, daily work has lost some of its values, especially if it is placed opposite to the leisure-time activities. However, we could barely investigate the nature of the leisure-time activities of young people without paying some attention to certain attitudes and opinions regarding their work. Both are parts of a total pattern of life, and the specific dispositions and tendencies regarding these two spheres of life could be seen as either complementary or opposing.

#### MEDIA OF MASS COMMUNICATION AND LEISURE

*Radio.* As in the case with all mass media, the radio cannot, as a medium of recreation and the spending of leisure, be described merely in quantitative terms. It is significant that 80 per cent of the youth stated that they listened to the radio regularly, and also mentioned the programs. It is only the *kind* of program preferred, however, which would give any indication of the quality of selection. Information in connection with this was obtained from 621 persons—288 in Johannesburg and 333 in Paarl. An analysis of the kind of radio programs preferred suggested a strong tendency for light recreational programs rather than those of an educational nature. It was found that 40 to 60 per cent of the persons in both areas preferred the programs of the commercial radio and light

jazz music. The distribution among the two sexes was as follows: Paarl, 40 per cent of the women and 50 per cent of the men; Johannesburg, 53 per cent of the women and 58 per cent of the men. In general only 4 to 7 per cent indicated an exclusive preference for programs such as the news, radio plays, and talks, while 6 to 10 per cent mentioned light classical music, operas, and orchestral concerts as their preference. A combination of light classical music, news, talks, and educational programs was the choice of 17 per cent of the men and 25 per cent of the women in Johannesburg, and 27 per cent of the men and 32 per cent of the women in Paarl.

Next a correlation was drawn between the listening habits of the persons and their socioeconomic status. As an index of the latter, scholastic qualifications and occupational group were taken. For the purpose of this correlation, the two different types of programs were classified in two categories. In the first, namely, Class A, were grouped those programs which could be considered as both educational and recreational. In addition to the educational and recreational material, there were included in this category the programs which could by virtue of their content and possible effect be considered as of a more "serious" nature. In the second broad category, namely, Class B, were classified all light jazz music and dance music and programs of the commercial radio.<sup>2</sup>

A total number of 621 provided information on this question of radio programs which interested them most. On the basis of the above-named classification, 49 per cent showed a preference for the Class A programs and 51 per cent preferred the Class B programs. A positive correlation between higher scholastic qualifications and relatively more interest in the Class A programs was found. The significance of these differences was tested with the  $\chi^2$  technique and found to be significant at .01 level. In the case of the scholastic qualifications and the type of programs  $\chi^2 = 49.33$  and with reference to occupational status  $\chi^2 = 24.27$ . D.F.2.

To summarize these findings:

1. An analysis of the type of radio programs the juveniles preferred indicated a stronger tendency for light recreational programs rather than for those of an educational nature.

<sup>2</sup> The South African Broadcasting Corporation has three types of programs: one in Afrikaans and one in English, which are noncommercial; and Springbok-radio, which broadcasts in both languages, is commercial and concentrates on lighter programs and music. All three programs are broadcast on a national network with substations. Springbok-radio was instituted not only as a source of revenue for the S.A.B.C. but also to cater for the "popular taste" and the masses. A distinction between tastes and preferences along these lines, therefore, seems appropriate.

2. Educational and occupational differences considered here as index of differences in socioeconomic status show a positive correlation with specific preferences and tastes for certain programs.

3. The dilemma, as well as the problems of radio and all other mass media, is closely connected with the above-named factors. If the function was to be not only that of entertainment but also that of education, a consideration for the varieties and divergencies of taste and level of cultural development would be inevitable. The emphasis here should be on more knowledge not only about the size of the audience, but also about the influence on the listener of the methods of presentation and the nature of the program.

*Reading Habits.* The empirical findings could be summarized as follows:

1. Only 4 per cent of the men and 7 per cent of the women stated that they did not regularly read any newspaper. Although most of the total group read newspapers only in their mother tongue—English or Afrikaans—it was found that 26 per cent read daily newspapers in both official languages. In Johannesburg, 34 per cent of the Afrikaans-speaking persons mentioned also English language newspapers which they read, but only 8 per cent of the English-speaking persons also read Afrikaans papers. In the more rural area of Paarl it was found that 28 per cent of the Afrikaans-speaking persons and 24 per cent of the English-speaking persons read papers in the other official language.

2. An analysis of the kinds of magazines which the persons read revealed the following: popular scientific and technical, 5 per cent; cultural, 73 per cent; sensational, 22 per cent.

As in the case of radio programs, a high correlation was found between educational qualifications and the kind of reading matter preferred. Those who, for example, indicated an interest in popular scientific magazines were found mainly among the group with higher scholastic qualifications. Whereas 22 per cent of the total number showed a preference for purely recreational and rather sensational magazines, the percentage among those with standard 7 or lower scholastic qualifications was as high as 51 for this kind of reading matter. Among those with the final school-leaving certificate (standard 10) or some college and university education, the percentage was 7.

3. When they were asked whether they had read one or more books during the previous month, 62 per cent of the juveniles gave a positive answer, and also supplied the titles of such books. A further analysis revealed that only 43 per cent regularly obtained books from a library or

reading room. This figure also includes those who borrowed books from a reading room in their hostel or place of employment. Where facilities for getting books from a municipal or public library did exist, only approximately 20 per cent availed themselves of the opportunity.

Again it was found that scholastic qualifications were closely related to the kinds of reading matter preferred.

*Youth and the Film.* 1. In this investigation it was found that 59 per cent of the men and 41 per cent of the women attended a movie at least once a week. In comparison with these figures it could be mentioned that, according to findings of the South African Film Association, 41 per cent of the total population in urban areas and 33 per cent in towns and rural areas attended the movies at least once a week. However, considering the social circumstances of young people and the significance which attendance at a movie has for them, these differences in attendance figures do not seem high.

2. With reference to the attendance at the movies, it is important to note what relationship was found with the level of education. Whereas relatively fewer persons from the lower educational level read books, just the opposite trend was found with movie attendance. An empirical analysis suggested that the film as a medium of more passive recreation with a technique of its own attracted relatively more of those with the lower scholastic qualifications.

3. With reference to the kind of film preferred and the relationship to scholastic qualifications, a distinctly different pattern was found.

To make any analysis and comparison, a distinction had to be made between "good" and "bad" films, or those which would supposedly have more or less educational value. Although this classification of films was done with the assistance of regional representatives of a well-known film company, it was also realized that the specific values and attitudes of the subjects and the investigator do play some role. However, certain trends were observed. The different kinds of films were classified in the broad categories: romantic-dramatic, musicals, and adventure-"Western." A correlation between scholastic qualifications and occupational status, on the one hand, and types of films, on the other hand, again suggested the role of socioeconomic factors in this respect. With a rise in scholastic qualifications and occupational status, there was found a relative increase of interest in films of a more educational value, especially those which require more insight and discernment. The contrary was suggested by the analysis with reference to films which emphasized pure entertainment, and where such elements as spectacle and action prevailed.

An analysis of the particular tastes and preferences of juveniles for certain kinds of material indicated clearly that such preferences are neither exclusively nor in the first place a function of the material as such. In contrast to the oversimplified approach, where the emphasis is invariably on the kind of material as a conditioning factor, we have here clear indications of the importance of the socioeconomic background as well.

*Sport and Youth Organizations.* Although a wide variety of aspects were dealt with, the following are presented as some of the findings:

1. Of the 80 per cent of the total who did belong to some youth organization or club, only 20 per cent were members of other than sport organizations or clubs. Although a much higher percentage were members of sport clubs, only approximately 25 per cent could be described as active participants, as revealed by their participation in winter, summer, or all-the-year-round games, and the frequency of such participation. There were 32 per cent who stated that they never took part in any sport.

2. It also appeared that 50 per cent of the persons never attended any meetings of a cultural and educational nature like discussion groups, lectures, and public addresses. An analysis of the empirical data showed that only among those who were *active* in youth organizations or clubs was there an interest in cultural activities.

*The Church and Spiritual Needs of Young People.* With reference to membership in church youth organizations, it appeared that socioeconomic factors did play a selective role. Natural selection of persons from the same level of sociocultural development, as members of the more intimate and personal organization, such as a church organization, was always evident.

With reference to church attendance, it was found that the figure for those who had been to church the previous Sunday varied from 60 to 30 per cent in the rural and urban areas, respectively. No significant difference was found between Afrikaans and English-speaking juveniles, or between young people from different socioeconomic levels.

#### CONCLUSION

The analysis of the empirical data suggested a strong correlation between socioeconomic status and the kind of material or activities which interests the young people during their leisure time. Values and attitudes concerning leisure time are closely related to values and attitudes held about the work, the family, and community life.

The solution to some of the problems of leisure time is related not only to the quality of the facilities and activities available, but also to the sociocultural life pattern.



## INCOMPLETE SOCIALIZATION

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The concept of socialization is an invaluable one, and is essential for the understanding of human behavior under any sociological theory. However, many sociologists have inaccurately assumed that by the time an individual reaches adulthood in his society, he has become socialized. They recognize that very often it takes an unusually long time for a child to become socially an adult; but there is a kind of assumption that every child does eventually become an adult in a social sense. Psychiatrists have spoken of the immature personality; but they are referring to an inability to control one's emotions in a psychological sense, and they believe that this is due to some kind of blocking experience that prevents full emotional development or a kind of unconscious resistance to emotional self-control.

However, very few students of the human personality, whether they be sociologists, psychologists, or psychiatrists, have ever recognized the fact that the individual may not have an *opportunity to learn* all of the things which would make him a full-fledged member of his society. Some speak of "anticipatory socialization," by which is meant the learning by a child how to engage in adult activities long before he actually has to participate in these activities. But that he may never learn the activities which he is expected to engage in as an adult seems never to have occurred to most students of human behavior. Yet there are some special reasons in our kind of society why a significant proportion of people should grow up, perhaps get a very adequate formal education, and still not learn all of the things that are generally expected to be characteristic of a fully participating adult in a society. This we shall call "incomplete socialization" and explain the major reasons why it occurs in our type of society.

In a relatively integrated society—represented by the medieval manor or the nonliterate tribal village—every reasonably intelligent child learned the behaviors expected of him as an adult, whether or not he would conform to them (although he typically did conform to most of them). The behaviors were limited by, among other things, the isolation of his community and the restrictions of his caste or class, but he practically never left his community or his class. Every institution and every adult person in the community gradually prepared him for all the behavioral



opportunities which would be offered to him, and for the demands which would be thrust upon him throughout life. The preindustrial child was thoroughly socialized.<sup>1</sup>

Industrialization—along with the other cultural and economic changes linked with the Industrial Revolution—has made relatively complete socialization almost impossible. First, the rapidity of technological and allied social change makes it impossible to predict what the world will be like twenty-five years hence. What child today can be taught the new behavior he will have to engage in when he is grown up? Who knows how the rapidly developing technology will mold his future job, his future household, his future use of leisure time? Second, the world has become more pluralistic and varied; every person has to make more and harder choices. To what extent can the contemporary child's later choices of anything—from future occupation to recreational interests—be predicted by his parents? Hence, how can they train him for the behavior of his choice? Third, both geographical and vertical social mobility is not only possible but likely. How many children today can be expected to spend their adult years in the community and class into which they are born? How can mobile persons be prepared for life in cultural settings different from those of their childhood? Fourth, those responsible for teaching the child how to behave are much fewer and much more specialized and restricted in their knowledge of the world that will be open to the children: whom they socialize. How many children today are socialized by their extended families, by their religious leaders, by their neighbors, or indeed by any but their increasingly limited parents and playmates and their specialized teachers? How adequate can socialization be for a well-rounded life when the socializers are narrow and specialized?

In some areas contemporary Americans have tried to make some adjustments to the problems posed by this situation, but they have not compensated for all the specific dislocation caused by the Industrial Revolution. In spite of the accommodations, a most significant consequence of industrialization—we hypothesize—is that a significant propor-

<sup>1</sup> For descriptions of tribal socialization, see several of the books of Margaret Mead: *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York: W. Morrow & Co., 1928); *Growing Up in New Guinea* (New York: W. Morrow & Co., 1930); *From the South Seas* (New York: W. Morrow & Co., 1939).

Also see: Jules and Zunia Henry, *Doll Play of Pilaga' Indian Children* (New York: American Orthopsychiatric Association, 1944). One of the better social descriptions of Medieval Europe is found in Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1936).

tion of today's youth reaches the age of adulthood without knowing: (1) how to take full advantage of the opportunities their culture offers them, (2) how to make choices when their pluralistic culture requires that they make choices, or (3) how to conform to social demands so as to achieve the degree of social integration that they desire and yet not be completely coerced by them. They sense their inadequacies, but do not know what to do about them.

Some of these incompletely socialized young and middle-aged parents of the middle class are learning to appreciate and perform the arts by picking up second-hand knowledge about them through their children. But since the children's socialization is only partial this is not completely satisfying for the parents, and creates certain secondary problems in parent-child relations. Also, probably only a small minority of parents learn from their children.

In the lower class, many of the incompletely socialized are those that find their way to the rolls of the various service agencies. Sociologists who have studied such problems refer to them as products of normlessness, or what Emile Durkheim called "anomie." They attribute these problems to the confusion of modern society which produces individuals with diverse and even contradictory meanings and values. Such confused socialization—and indeed the desocialization that can be observed in mental patients—has long been studied.<sup>2</sup> But confused socialization and desocialization are only one part of the problem; the other part is incomplete socialization, about which we so far know very little.

Contemporary adult society includes many persons who are inadequately socialized and who are at least vaguely aware of their inadequacies. They are dissatisfied, but do not know what to do about the situation. Some of them create major problems for the community. The extent and the consequences of incomplete socialization, and its relationship to the industrial order, need to be studied further. We are here attempting only to outline the problem, and to list the social forces which contribute to it and which tend to counterbalance it.

Some of the modern theorists of education—like John Dewey—had some of the above considerations in mind when they began to reform the nineteenth-century curriculum of the 3 R's (supplemented in the secondary school by Latin and some remote science and history). Obviously some of those who call themselves progressive educators made some serious

<sup>2</sup> Emile Durkheim, *Suicide* (American edition, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951); W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Boston: Badger Press, 1918), especially Vol. IV; R. E. L. Faris and H. W. Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

mistakes, and in some respects created more problems than they solved. But the original difficulties they were concerned with—mainly problems of incomplete socialization—should not now be ignored, and whatever advances they did make should not now be discarded.

The problems for education have also changed somewhat since the "modernists" took over the schools, and in these respects the latter are no longer modern. For example, there are practically no immigrants left, and for most other elements of the population there is also no need to teach simple sanitation and basic personal hygiene in the schools.

The idea behind progressive education is that of educating children to *understand* the social forces impinging on them and to be *flexible* enough to meet social change throughout their lives. While this resolves the problem of training children for unpredictable futures, it sometimes makes for what Riesman has called "other-directed personalities"—individuals who accept and adjust to every passing whim of the mass and people who merely reflect the contradictory confusion and continually changing concatenation of social forces.<sup>3</sup> We have hardly succeeded in developing, except perhaps for a small minority of children, a socialization process that provides (1) a wide range of shared meanings and the skills to utilize them for the benefit of self and others and (2) an ability to evaluate, that is, to think through value questions rationally and to make independent choices in terms of long-range goals and developments.

Among the prerequisites to any change in the school system would be a consideration of the extent to which, and how, the contemporary school makes up the deficiency in socialization. A great contemporary issue is whether the school can and should attempt to substitute for the parents in socializing the child. Beyond the fact that the school inevitably plays some role in socialization, the questions can be raised as to *whether* the school does not have to assume a greater share of the task if the parents are not themselves adequately equipped to socialize their children, and *how* the school can do this.<sup>4</sup>

Adult education is increasingly serving to complete the socialization process. Just as business managers and professional men and trade union leaders increasingly take "refresher courses" in their specialized

<sup>3</sup> David Riesman et al., *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

<sup>4</sup> David Riesman, *Constraint and Variety in American Education* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1956); John R. Seeley et al., *Crestwood Heights* (New York: Basic Books, 1956); Wilbur B. Brookover, *A Sociology of Education* (New York: American Book Company, 1955); Lloyd Allen Cook and E. F. Cook, *A Sociological Approach to Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950); Robert J. Havighurst and B. L. Neugarten, *Society and Education* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1957).

fields, perhaps everyone in the future will feel the need to take "socializer courses" so that they know how to behave effectively in general in a changing and increasingly complex society. Some existing examples of this are to be found in the lecture series that orient adults to the political, economic, and social problems of the day, in the craft and hobby classes that prepare them to make more satisfying use of the growing leisure time, in the extension and correspondence study courses provided by both high schools and colleges to permit adults to extend not only their specialized knowledge but also their general education. But all these things as yet reach only a small segment of the adult population, and probably, in most cases, those who "need" it least in terms of the degree of socialization they already have.

The modern church, too, is playing an increasing role as a socializer. Both for children and for young people, the church devotes a growing portion of its activity to what might best be called "social education," and progressively less attention to theology and ceremony. Much of the social education has to do with morals and ethics—which have always been within the province of the church—but it also now takes on much of the content that formerly was exclusively in the realm of adult education: contemporary social problems and issues, crafts and hobbies, interpersonal relations and popular psychology. Most churches now see the "need" for such things and do their best to satisfy this need. It is questionable, however, whether the pastors and their assistants are equipped—in terms of their own training and orientation—to provide the kind of socialization that is needed. In most cases, probably, the social education provided by the church fails to reach people; and for many whom it does reach, it is so inadequate that it fails to meet their needs.

The mass media—newspapers, magazines, movies, radio, and TV—provide a large amount of socializing material for their audiences. It is distributed in contexts that range from pure entertainment to straightforward information. The sheer bulk of the material emanating from the mass media, and the large amount of attention they receive in our society, might suggest that they are very influential socializers. Some questions can be raised about them, however. First, are they providing more information than misinformation regarding the long-run and basic facts about our society? A study recently completed at the University of Illinois shows that the mass media are seriously misinforming people about problems of mental health and mental disease, and that people generally already have more correct information about these matters than

the mass media are providing.<sup>5</sup> Is this also true of other subject matters?

Second, is the "human interest" emphasis of the mass media giving an emotional cast to subject matters that people used to grasp calmly and rationally. Often a principle may best be understood by means of a case report, but it is doubtful whether the human interest stories presented by the mass media are selected and presented in a fashion best designed to inform or orient their audiences. Third, the chopped, unrelated, and hectic character of presentations by the mass media probably leads to more confusion than understanding. Facts by themselves do not educate or socialize. What is needed are facts *in context*. A factual newspaper story is meaningless to most readers unless the historical framework in which the current facts assume meaning is also provided. TV programs like the quiz shows provide no meaningful information to most of the audience, and probably even mislead them because they erroneously assume they are getting information. Unless a person has a very solid grounding in history, social science, and the sciences and humanities generally, the outpourings of the mass media are mostly confusing and hence *desocializing* in their effect. Only a few newspapers, magazines, and radio and TV programs could be considered socializing, that is, helping the individual to relate himself to the world around him and to understand the expectations for his behavior in an ongoing society.

The voluntary association is the institution which today probably does the most effective job—after the family—of socializing those individuals who come into extended contact with it. Scout organizations, the "Y's," and locally organized recreational programs train children in skills, interests, human relations, and ethical problems, usually with some degree of effectiveness if they have access to them through the years. Adult organizations—ranging in purpose from hobby groups to political action groups—have more specialized activities, but they also help to orient the individual member to at least one phase of life that interests him. The socialization that occurs in the voluntary association takes place over an extended period of time, during which the individual is obliged to relate himself to other members personally; hence, the socialization is meaningful and usually in context. The principal defect of the voluntary association as socializer is that half the population—the half that is least well socialized already, mostly in the lower-income groups and the more mobile and isolated in the middle-income groups—does not participate. And many voluntary associations have desultory programs that bore

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<sup>5</sup> Institute of Communications Research, University of Illinois, "Communication of Mental Health Information," unpublished Phase I Report, 1955.

rather than stimulate their members. At best, the voluntary associations teach new skills (manual, social, recreational), but not how to evaluate or to think creatively, except in a limited area.

Some so-called "individualists" in our society claim to fear the voluntary associations as sources of conformity and uniformity. Practically all associations are too feeble and too specialized to have this effect. But if the accusation was true, the solution would not be nonparticipation and noninvolvement, but rather a more diversified participation. One of the great advantages of the voluntary association as socializer is its specialized purpose and specialized membership. Because it thus involves the individual with only part of his personality and associates, it is the antithesis of totalitarian. To get the maximum benefits of socialization, and yet avoid the conformism and narrowness consequent to constant close association with the same group of people, the individual needs merely to belong to several associations, each with fairly different purposes, memberships, and relations to his daily life. Many of the "individualistic" critics of the voluntary associations are themselves anomic, and hence tend to see "groups" as existing apart from the individuals who make them up.

We have considered the forces making for incomplete socialization in our society, and the institutions working to counterbalance these forces. It is impossible to know which is more weighty at present, and where the balance lies. But we do know this: The forces making for incomplete socialization have constantly greater influence in contemporary society and they have produced a significant proportion of persons who have reached the age of adulthood without being adequately socialized. A society—any society—collapses when a certain majority of its adults do not achieve a certain degree of socialization. Individualism and creativity are not in opposition to socialization, but, in fact, can occur only when socialization has achieved a fairly high level. Witness the highly socialized societies of Periclean Athens and Renaissance Italy as compared to the desocialized late Roman Empire. Incomplete socialization brings many problems into its trail—social problems that the welfare agencies and the mental health clinics attempt to cope with—and these are sufficiently manifest in our society to let us know that incomplete socialization is a truly significant feature of our times.

## COOPERATIVES IN PAKISTAN

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Pakistan provides an interesting case study of the factors that can function to keep the cooperative movement from advancing in a particular culture. For an understanding of the movement's present status, it is necessary to review its background in pre-Partition India.

*Historical Background.* In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, India was confronted with a rural debt problem of very extensive proportions. Most of her millions of agriculturalists were indebted to the village moneylenders, whose customary practice was to lend money at exorbitant interest rates. Various British legal enactments failed to affect the root of the problem. But a Famine Commission of 1901 recommended the introduction of credit associations, and in consequence the Cooperative Credit Societies Act was passed in 1904.<sup>1</sup> It aimed at encouraging self-help and cooperation among agriculturalists, and was later described as "a first attempt to naturalize European cooperation in an Asian setting."<sup>2</sup>

The 1904 Act, based on the concepts of German cooperators, introduced credit functioning in that any ten or more adults from the same village, tribe, or caste could form a registered credit society. Working capital was raised from the members' deposits, entrance fees, and outside loans, and registrars were appointed to supervise financial operations. The British regime gave certain tax exemptions to the movement, government loans were provided to encourage its growth, and in the first decade after 1904 its development was comparatively rapid. But various defects in the 1904 Act, together with the felt need for the growth of cooperatives in directions other than credit, resulted in the enactment of the Cooperative Societies Act in 1912, which gave a legal status to noncredit societies, sale and purchase societies, and cooperative banks. By 1912 there were in India over 8,000 societies with a membership of 403,000; and after 1912 other cooperative units were established, although the capital resources were not evenly distributed among societies in different localities, partly owing to regional economic differences in the subcontinent. In what was

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<sup>1</sup> S. M. Akhtar, *Economics of Pakistan* (Lahore: The Publishers United, Ltd., 1951), pp. 151-52.

<sup>2</sup> Margaret Digby, *Agricultural Cooperation in the Commonwealth* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1951), p. 9.



later to become West Pakistan, societies were set up for the ginning of cotton in Punjab, for house construction in Sind, and for dairy farming and the marketing of farm produce.<sup>3</sup>

The movement continued to expand during the 1920's, and at the end of that decade a Royal Commission on Agriculture reported that the knowledge of cooperation was widespread; but the vast majority of India's then 250 million cultivators were still untouched by the movement. The economic depression of the 1930's was a severe blow to India's cooperatives on account of the world-wide fall in agricultural prices.<sup>4</sup> But other indigenous factors played their part in the deterioration of the movement: illiteracy and a lack of rural education, which militated against the cultivators' understanding of the fundamental spirit and principles of cooperatives; government bureaucracy; agricultural poverty; and the feudalistic *zamindar* (landholding moneylender) system. To an appreciable extent, these factors still exert a retarding influence. The extreme poverty of the peasants, their lack of credit facilities to finance agriculture and small-scale industries, uneconomic fragmentation of landholdings produced by inheritance practices, and a poorly organized agricultural marketing system all combine to keep cooperatives in an undeveloped state relative to their potential scope.<sup>5</sup>

World War II led to a rise in agricultural prices and an improvement in the economic status of the Indian peasants, many of whom now repaid their debts to the societies. During the 1940's the number of cooperative societies in India and Pakistan increased by 40 per cent and the membership by 64 per cent, this being part of a growing membership trend in several Asian countries.<sup>6</sup> In the newly created Pakistan, this development occurred partly as the response of the struggling movement to the voluminous problems occasioned by the 1947 Partition of the subcontinent.<sup>7</sup> The Hindu *zamindars* had left for India proper, and it became necessary to close the credit gap created by their exodus and that of the other non-Muslims who had controlled the bulk of commerce and trade. The entire system of financing and transporting crops was dislocated. Many coopera-

<sup>3</sup> Matlubur Rahman, *Economic Problems of Pakistan* (Karachi: Kaukab Agencies, 1950), Vol. 1, pp. 107-9.

<sup>4</sup> Digby, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>5</sup> See A. F. A. Husain, *Human and Social Impact of Technological Change in Pakistan* (Dacca: Oxford University Press, 1956), for an analysis of this topic.

<sup>6</sup> *The Development of the Cooperative Movement in Asia* (Geneva: International Labor Office, 1954), pp. 4-5.

<sup>7</sup> See the writer's article, "Problems in Pakistan—the Background to Martial Law," *International Spectator* (Netherlands Institute of International Relations, The Hague), XIII: 322-33, June 8, 1959; also, "Pakistan Struggles for Economic Survival," *The New Leader*, XLII: 6-7, July 6, 1959.



tive societies, deprived of the Hindu personnel who had operated them, went out of existence; but new tasks were created for the movement in agricultural credit, banking, financing of cottage industries, and marketing of produce. The economic plight of a new nation, which began its independent existence with scanty natural resources and even lesser endowments of trained manpower, necessitated fast action, and new societies were formed in both wings of the country for agricultural production and home industries. Cooperative banks were rapidly revived. It has been claimed that the movement played an appreciable role in reviving trade and helping to stabilize the economy, especially in West Pakistan, during the difficult post-Partition years.<sup>8</sup>

*Contemporary Organization and Status.* There are currently three classes of cooperative societies in Pakistan: Primary Societies, Central Banks, and Provincial Banks. The Primary Credit Societies, dating from 1904, are the nucleus of the movement. Loans are made only to members, and surplus assets are carried to a reserve fund, though dividends may legally be declared; but low working capital has retarded Primary progress since 1947. In 1956 there existed approximately 30,000 agricultural credit societies, with over 1¼ million members. Funds are derived from two sources: share capital subscribed by members and loans from the Central Cooperative Banks. Noncredit societies have enjoyed a greater relative popularity: numbering 14,000, they can claim considerably more than 2½ million members.

The main function of the Central Banks (about 80 in number) is to lend funds to Primary Societies, whose resources would otherwise be very meager. They also aid in organizing and supervising societies. The Provincial Cooperative Banks finance, coordinate, and control the functioning of Central Banks in each province; they also act as clearing-houses for the Central Banks' working capital, and are a link between the general money market and the village Primary Societies.<sup>9</sup> The State Bank of Pakistan also advances sums to cooperatives at low interest rates; but there is disagreement in the country regarding the appropriate extent of such government participation in the movement.

Cooperation has benefited the peasant by weakening the influence of the moneylender, encouraging habits of thrift, and increasing agricultural incomes. But its achievements in Pakistan must be viewed in light of the magnitude of the problems confronting it in a culture where 90 per cent

<sup>8</sup> M. Afzal-Ur-Rahman, *Pak Economics*, fifth edition (Lahore: Ripon Book Depot, 1956), p. 154.

<sup>9</sup> Akhtar, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

of the population are illiterate and median per capita income is less than 250 rupees (\$50) per year. Over 200 cooperative farming societies with a membership of 10,000 have been organized in West Pakistan since 1948. Hyderabad has 60 societies of weavers, fishermen, glass and metal workers, and other artisans. In the Punjab over 600 cooperative weaving societies are registered with a 50,000 membership, and West Pakistan has a total of 1,900 cottage industry societies.<sup>10</sup> In addition to the agricultural credit societies, there are 4,000 multi-purpose societies which supply seeds, fertilizers, and tools, and provide marketing facilities to the cultivator.

Impecunious East Pakistan has more than a thousand weavers' groups with a total membership of 125,000, and over one hundred industrial societies for metal workers, cobblers, carpenters, potters, and blacksmiths. In East Pakistan the membership of cooperatives forms over 6 per cent of the total population, but the movement has greater financial strength in the more prosperous West wing. Pakistan has about 25 cooperative housing societies, mainly in Karachi, and the East wing has a cooperative jute marketing organization and a publishing company with its own printing press.<sup>11</sup>

*Current Problems and Prospects.* In the last analysis, the achievements of the movement are perhaps more qualitative than quantitative, while its problems, like those of Pakistan generally, can be attributed to the complex interlocking of several factors that are more easily surveyed than surmounted.

At the heart of the problem is the national poverty which precludes rural savings and cooperative investment. This poverty is rooted primarily in primitive and unscientific farming methods combined with population pressure (East Pakistan has 777 persons per square mile), which result in low agricultural production. The Pakistani peasant is usually too poor to provide share capital, and money advanced to him is in many cases not returned. Related factors in the peasant's poverty are the precarious nature of the monsoons, perpetual illness, and burdensome expenses for unproductive social functions such as weddings, feasts, and funerals.

Equally retarding to cooperatives is the influence of illiteracy and lack of formal schooling. (It is not coincidental that the cooperative move-

<sup>10</sup> S. Shadrid Husain, "Pakistan's Cooperative Cottage Industries," *Review of International Cooperation*, 49: 189-93, July-August, 1956.

<sup>11</sup> *Annual Report and Statements on the Working of Cooperative Societies in East Pakistan, for the Year 1955-56* (Dacca: Government of East Pakistan, Cooperative Directorate, 1958), pp. 3-4.

ment has been most successful in cultures such as Sweden, where a high percentage of literacy and education is enjoyed.) In Pakistan there has been a widespread lack of training in the principles and philosophy of cooperation. It is a prevalent practice in the northern regions of West Pakistan for a person who needs credit to join a cooperative society for a loan, which is followed by eventual repayment and withdrawal of membership until a further loan is needed.<sup>12</sup>

It is significant that the movement in the subcontinent was originally sponsored, not by the people themselves, but by the then governing colonial power, toward which many persons felt suspicious and hostile. There had been no prior education of public attitudes in cooperative ideology and no adequate preparation of the peasant for participation in the movement. The original psychological handicap of government sponsorship was not counteracted by large-scale government assistance, and thus credit facilities remained meager. A final factor has been poor rural leadership, unqualified management and supervision, and occasional evidence of financial irregularities. Many peasants have tended to become distrustful of the movement as a depository for their small savings; and two writers claim that little or no action on financial misappropriations has been taken by the Cooperative Department of the post-Partition governments.<sup>13</sup>

Despite the unpromising picture that emerges from any objective evaluation of Pakistani cooperatives, there are several hopeful trends. There has been increasing official interest in cooperatives, enhanced by the new martial law regime of October, 1958. New cooperative ordinances in West Pakistan were enacted early in 1959, an advisory board was established, and additional government funds were provided for cooperative farming. The Village-AID program of the International Cooperation Administration has recently given financial and supervisory aid to cooperatives, a trend that may be expected to continue. Another healthy portent has been the growth of voluntary institutes to train officials. Two cooperative colleges are functioning, one in each wing; over 600 persons have received training, and some Pakistani trainees have been sent overseas. Early in 1959 the Pakistan Government decided to finance

<sup>12</sup> Matlub Hussain, *A Socio-Economic Survey of Village Baffa in the Hazara District of the Peshawar Division* (Peshawar: The Board of Economic Enquiry, North-West Frontier, Peshawar University, 1958), pp. 168-70. See also G. Keler, "A Cooperative Picture—Pakistan," *Review of International Cooperation*, 49: 152, July-August, 1956.

<sup>13</sup> A. H. Ballendux and R. K. Harper, *A Survey of the Cooperative Movement in East Pakistan* (Dacca: Government of East Pakistan, 1958), pp. 8-9.

and establish two additional colleges. Finally, the extent of cooperative welfare activities cannot be ignored: irrigation improvement schemes have been carried out, 3,500 houses have been built, and over 50 village schools and 40 adult literacy centers established, together with 4 medical aid societies and 5 hospitals. Cooperatives have also been instrumental in settling village disputes and reducing the incidence of expensive litigation.

The future of cooperatives in Pakistan, as with all aspects of her culture, is problematical. But in view of the economic distress and political instability of the new nation and the apathetic fatalism of many of the peasants, the very continued existence of the cooperative movement and its expansion since 1947 can be regarded as significant achievements.

# A STRATIFICATION STUDY OF TELEVISION PROGRAMS\*

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This is a study of the differences of program selections that are made by television viewers and that are related to social backgrounds, interests, attitudes, and social class of the subjects. It utilizes program types rather than specific programs, and its concern rests in combination of program types as related to total viewing behavior.

The hypothesis was formulated that different social classes have different viewing patterns as to program selections.

Stratification studies show that, in any given community, the various groupings into social class produce patterns of association, behavior, taste, consumption, and other social characteristics. Riley and Flowerman state that "any given person in the audience reacts not merely as an isolated personality but also as a member of the various groups to which he belongs and with which he communicates."<sup>1</sup>

This basic fact suggests a number of implications that can be expressed in the following generalizations:

1. Program selections by types can be represented by a group ranking and determined by such factors as age, education, family size, and occupation.

2. More specifically, there is a pronounced and consistent patterning of the population according to program selections when social class is used as the basis.

3. It is clear that many psychological factors are involved in the viewing process itself. At the present stage of communication research, these factors cannot be statistically evaluated.

## PROCEDURE

For the first study the method used was the utilization of 1,200 homes in which age, sex, education, and size of family were related to daytime and evening program selections.

The second study investigated the relationship between social class

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\* This report represents an abbreviation of two chapters of the author's dissertation accepted as a partial fulfillment for the Ph.D. degree in Sociology at the University of Southern California, June, 1959.

<sup>1</sup> M. W. Riley and S. H. Flowerman, "Group Relations As a Variable in Communications Research," *American Sociological Review*, XVI: 171.

and program selections. A total of 467 telephone calls were made in a one-hour period. A variety of program types was available at this hour. The respondents were asked the occupation and highest grade of education possessed by the head of the household. Social class of the head of the household was determined by the use of Hollingshead's *Index of Social Position*. Respondents were classified according to this Index into one of five social classes, and the classes were related to program type of selections.

The third study consisted of a purposive sample of twenty-five male industrial leaders. The distinctive pattern of viewing preferences left no doubts about viewing preferences compared with those of other classes.

The first study was made with the aid of the A. C. Nielsen Company; the second study was made in association with the American Research Bureau; and the third was made in association with a member of the staff of the *Los Angeles Times*.

*Nielsen Company Study.* After the hypothesis of this study was outlined, it was found that the research methods of each company were well suited for specific areas of the problem. The electronic recording of viewing in a fixed group of homes was most suitable for determining age, sex, education, and size of family. This fixed panel is the base of the A. C. Nielsen Company's 1,200 home sample. Nielsen maintains constant personal contact with each home by means of a permanent panel of field engineers. All home classification data, i.e., such factors as family size, age of the persons in the family, education of the people in the family, must be accurately recorded on the initial installation and rechecked on every subsequent call in order to be able to check the sample against census data when published, as well as to be able to determine from the sample itself the categories into which the United States viewers fall.

The study indicates program selections made by (1) housewives in relation to their age groups, (2) comparison of program selections by utilizing highest educated member of family, and (3) family size as related to program selections.

The Nielsen study shows that more older than younger women prefer quiz and audience participation programs. This same type of program is also favored among the least educated.

The preference for variety programs is almost equally divided between the different levels of the educational groups.

The suspense programs are favored most by the younger housewives and least by the older ones. These types of programs are also favored by

those whose education does not go beyond high school level. Comparisons of audiences according to family size show that preferences for these kinds of programs increase in proportion to the number of children in the family.

Western programs are favored by those who have some elementary or high school education. At the college level these programs show a drop in popularity. Actually the differences in the preferences of these groups for westerns, whether half-hour or hour long, are slight. The age of housewives does have a definite relationship to the popularity of westerns. The younger age groups favor them. Audience comparisons by family size show that a preference for westerns increases as the family size increases. The length of the western program seems to make little difference in its popularity.

Preferences for situation comedy do not differ significantly, according to the audience indexes. Only the families with more than one child show an increase in preference for this kind of show. Its popularity drops at the college level.

The adult serial is popular with women of all ages. The distinct difference in popularity of these programs is to be found at the educational level of audience members; the higher the education, the lower the preference for serials.

Audience comparisons by family size show that the viewing of children's programs during the day increases in tremendous proportion to the number of children in the home. In the evening hours, families with two or more children show increased viewing of western and adventure programs.

Women dominate the percentage of viewers of drama; and since drama usually deals with middle-age groups, women in this age group show a preference for it.

*American Research Bureau Study.* The American Research Bureau was splendidly suited in order to obtain the social class of the viewers by using their coincidental telephone service. The method used in this second study was designed by the author, and the American Research Bureau conducted the research with their telephone operators.

This ARB-television special study was made on a Sunday 8:00 to 9:00 P.M., in Los Angeles, California.<sup>2</sup> The purpose was to determine the occupation and education of the head of the household for television owners, viewing or not, and nontelevision owners, in relation to program

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<sup>2</sup> The time was chosen for two reasons: (1) it is top viewing time and (2) many program types were available.

selection. The method employed was to use two questions added to a regular ARB-Television Telephone Coincidental Rating Survey. Questions were asked of all families at home.

Total attempted calls were 467; no answer, 111; busy, 18; disconnect or refusal, 13; completed calls, 306. The 306 completed calls were broken down into television owners, 304; viewing at time of interview, 247; not viewing, 57; nontelevision owners, 2.

Two questions were asked of each of the 306 families, after regular telephone coincidental rating questions, to determine: (1) What is the occupation of the head of the household? (2) What was the highest grade in school (education) of the head of the household?<sup>3</sup>

Of 304 television owners, 275 answered one or both questions. The two nontelevision owners refused to answer either question. The results of the special questionnaire (base 275 television families) were as follows: viewing television, 234; not viewing television, 41.

Television owners were grouped by program type which the family was viewing at time of interview as follows: western, 80; variety, 77; general drama, 46; movies, 22; religion, 6; and mystery, 4.

This use of Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index of Social Position was ideally suited for the purpose of obtaining social class of viewers. Class I was not well represented in the over-all number of homes; the preferences of this class are covered in the next specialized study.

Variety program viewing shows its high rating in social classes II, IV, and V; but differences between groups were not very significant, except in the case of Class I households.

General drama viewing was high in social classes II and III, especially III. Western drama viewing was high in social classes III and IV, especially class IV. The religious program viewing was too small at this hour to evaluate.

*Special Class Study.* The third study was made on a purposive selected sample of twenty-five top-level business executives in Los Angeles. A questionnaire was submitted to the executives in the following manner:

How many hours a week do you watch television?  
Please give your order of preference (using 1 as first preference,  
2 as second, etc.) of following types of programs: Sports .....,  
Drama ....., Variety show ....., Westerns ....., Quiz shows  
....., Science ....., Public service (interviews) ....., Situation  
comedies ....., Movie reruns .....

<sup>3</sup> August B. Hollingshead, *Two-Factor Index of Social Position* (New Haven: Yale University, 1958).



The ages ran from forty-two years to eighty-one years—the medium age was fifty-four and one-half years. All had completed college, and many had completed graduate levels of education. Here are the results: Most surveys show the typical television fan watches the television screen an average of thirty-five hours a week. But these twenty-five men average watching it about one tenth of that time—an average of one to three and a half hours a week. Two reported they watch television ten hours a week each, and another eight hours. However, ten indicated complete indifference or only the mildest interest in television.

One expressed a heartfelt detestation for it. He wrote: "Next to alcohol, television is America's greatest deterrent to progress." He and one other reported they never watch television. Two said they watch it "rarely" or a "minimum." Five reported they average an hour a week of television viewing, one reported an hour and a half, and the remainder from two to seven hours. In this social class I results were as follows for the men: sports won; second choice went to variety programs; third choice went to public service programs; fourth choice went to situation comedies; and next, westerns and dramas. Quiz shows, science shows, and movie reruns were very low on the list.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Television programing provides for a general overlapping of audience for selected programs. For example, two top programs with large audiences would naturally show an overlap of audience types. The program interests of certain audiences can cover a wide area. A compatibility of preferences takes place in which similar programs may appeal to fundamentally different interests of people comprising one audience.

It was shown that various forms of entertainment do not determine taste; rather, a person's tastes control the kind of entertainment he chooses. The audience member selects from the television's offerings those which he believes to be harmonious with his likes.

The original hypothesis that different social classes have different viewing patterns was verified by all three separate studies. The future of audience research certainly points to the possibility of pinpointing the characteristics of certain audiences for selected programs.

## ATTITUDES TOWARD A HIGH SCHOOL COURSE IN MARRIAGE AND FAMILY\*

(Based on a Study of Parents and  
Secondary School Students)

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Changes in the educational systems have brought about studies relating to the functional demands of adult life. One might well ask what is being done to prepare young people for the most exacting of all careers—marriage and family living? Landis states, "Even today with marriage occupying a place of supreme importance in the lives of most men and women, there is all too little concern over preparing young people in the arts and skills of successful mate selection, marriage, and family living."<sup>1</sup> Young people of today are, for the most part, on their own. Few parents raise their children with the helping hand of a large interdependent family group. These young people must learn by trial and error much that earlier generations learned through first-hand experience within the family group.

The purposes of this study were, first, to determine from selected high school students and their parents the information they believe necessary for the building of a successful satisfying marriage and home life and, second, to develop criteria for a study in marriage and family living in the homemaking department of a secondary school.

The sample consisted of four groups totaling 322 individuals. All were high school students or parents of such students. The groups were: (1) the students who were in classes in Homemaking 2, 3, and 4; (2) all the students in the senior English classes and one sophomore class; (3) a parent or guardian of each of the students in Homemaking 2, 3, and 4; and (4) a parent or guardian of each of the students in the sophomore and senior English classes.<sup>2</sup>

Homemaking students were sophomore, junior, and senior girls in heterogeneous groupings. The students in the senior English classes were boys and girls divided in three more or less homogeneous groupings, including (1) the X group, or the accelerated group—who were capable of achieving above the average student; (2) R group, or the regular

\* A part of a thesis directed by Dr. Gladys Stevenson and submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Arts at Whittier College, June, 1959.

<sup>1</sup> Paul H. Landis, *Making the Most of Marriage* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955), p. 510.

<sup>2</sup> In and connected with a southern California high school.

group—the students who are average in achievement; and (3) B group, or the basic group—the students who are unable to do average class work. The sophomores were in the X grouping for sophomores.

Students in academic and nonacademic classes were selected for the purpose of comparing their opinions and the opinions of their parents, in the area of a course of study in Marriage and Family Living.

The data were collected in February, 1958, by means of a questionnaire conducted on the basis of a schedule consisting of eight main parts. The first of these parts dealt with personal backgrounds—occupation, marital status, religion, and age level. The second part consisted of four statements pertaining to dating. Five statements in the area of marriage considered choosing a mate, religious problems in marriage, parental approval of marriage, engagements, weddings, receptions, and sex problems in marriage. In the area of family problems pertaining to a successful marriage were such items as family finance and budgeting, management for better living, buying and furnishing a home, foods and nutrition, clothing for the family, family health and safety, and divorce. The care and development of the child consisted of prenatal care, understanding and development of the child from birth to 12 years of age. Three areas were considered in sex education: sex education before marriage, in marriage, and biology of reproduction. Family relationships before and after marriage were examined. The other areas included in the questionnaire were opinions on whether instruction relating to marriage and family living should be coeducational and the amount of time which should be devoted to this type of curriculum.

The over-all response was favorable to the areas of the study covered in the questionnaire, with 66 per cent responding *yes*, 19 per cent *no*, and 15 per cent making no response.

Investigation of the attitudes toward instruction in dating seemed to point up the fact that the respondents were in varying agreement as to the inclusion of this area in a course of study in Marriage and Family Living at the high school level. The students in the homemaking classes showed only a 27 per-cent approval, while those who did not identify with any occupational grouping were in 96 per-cent agreement as to the value of instruction in dating in the proposed course of study. Opposition to inclusion of the area of dating came from the Senior English Basic class with a 56 per-cent *no* vote. The students who were 18 years of age and older showed 60 per-cent indifference to instruction in this area.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For interesting and related documentary materials on dating, see Jessie Bernard, Helen E. Buchanan, and William Smith, Jr., *Dating, Mating, and Marriage* (Cleveland, Ohio: Howard Allen, Inc., 1958). Also see Francis E. Merrill, *Courtship and Marriage* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959), Parts I and II.

The respondents were generally in favor of instruction in the area of marriage and the preparation for marriage. The percentages of approval ranged from 48 per cent to 100 per cent. Religious problems in marriage and parental approval of marriage received the highest number of *yes* votes. However, 32 per cent of the Senior English R class opposed the discussion of such problems in high school. The guardians in the 20-29 years of age grouping approved 100 per cent.<sup>4</sup>

There was a 55 per-cent to 100 per-cent approval for sex education in the high school. Biology of reproduction and sex education before marriage received emphasis from nearly all respondents by all classifications. The percentages of opposition ranged from 7 per cent to 26 per cent in the group that gave no background data. Guardians in the 20-29 age group and parents over 50 were in favor by 100 per cent and 83 per cent, respectively.<sup>5</sup>

In the areas of factors that contribute to successful home and family living, the majority were in favor of instruction in these areas. The approvals for such a study range from 56 per cent to 100 per cent, with finance and budgeting, management for better living, furnishing a home, foods and nutrition, family health and safety, and clothing for the family receiving the highest approval. The percentages of the *no* votes were from 7 to 43 per cent in the areas of buying and furnishing a home, social security, income tax, insurance, and divorce. Lack of understanding as to the type of instruction offered in these areas and the importance of the worth of the home as an institution might be a reason for the lack of support of those areas. This surmise is based on inadequate data, and further study is recommended.<sup>6</sup>

There was a variance of approval from 14 per cent to 100 per cent as to the importance of study in child care and development. In the area of family relationships approval ratings were high, varying from 50 per cent to 100 per cent. Partial data in the study indicate that study of children past two years of age is too far from the student's immediate goal, but relationships within the family are a present as well as a future need.

The students were in favor of coeducational classes in Marriage and Family Living, with 54 per-cent to 100 per-cent approval. Parents'

<sup>4</sup> See W. R. Cleminson, "The Principal Speaks," *Marriage and Family Living*, XX: 74-75.

<sup>5</sup> Robert A. Harper and Frances R. Harper discuss education's point of view in "Are Educators Afraid of Sex?" in *Marriage and Family Living*, XIX: 240-46.

<sup>6</sup> Jean S. Taylor, "Homemaker's Competences," *Journal of Home Economics*, 21: 688-90.

percentages were somewhat lower, with 23 per-cent to 50 per-cent approval.<sup>7</sup>

As to whether the course should be a unit of instruction, a one-semester course, or a two-semester course, there was a great deal of indifference. The percentages of approval for such instruction to be included in courses where social relationships are taught were low, ranging from 0 to 50 per cent.

*Summary and Conclusions.* Agreements and disagreements exist concerning what should be taught in a course of study in Marriage and Family Living in a high school. Parents were in agreement that the area of family problems (factors for a successful marriage) should emphasize family finance and budgeting, management for better living, nutrition and foods, and family health and safety. The students emphasized the area of family relationships, family problems including nutrition and foods, family health and safety.

Other areas in the study receiving approval by parents were marriage, dating, study of children up to two years of age. Students desired instruction in sex education and they thought that this instruction should be coeducational. Parents agreed that the study of sex education was important to the high school students, but disagreed on its being taught to both sexes in the same classroom.

The over-all response of approval is evidence that there is interest in a functional course in Marriage and Family Living for high school students. Religious groupings varied in points of agreement, but showed marked approval as a rule for the areas on the questionnaire to be included in the high school curriculum. Ages of those participating were of little significance in their approval of the course of study.

The challenge for a broad, practical course for family life education is indicated. Ways need to be found to enlarge and increase the work in this area in the high school classroom. Working more closely with teachers who include areas of family living as a portion of the curriculum, the homemaking department would be able to meet the needs of the secondary student in a rapidly changing society by enlarging upon the work now being done, finding teaching techniques that will work for the students, and attempting to transfer theory into action.

<sup>7</sup> For further discussion of the problem see Judson T. Landis, "The Challenge of Marriage and Family Life Education," *Marriage and Family Living*, XIX: 247-52.

## AGE DIFFERENCES IN MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE IN HAWAII

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This brief study describes the age differences reported in couples obtaining marriage licenses, or divorces, or annulments in Hawaii during 1957. Findings are based on tabulations by the Territorial Department of Health.<sup>1</sup>

Data of this kind for Hawaii are particularly interesting in view of the paucity of published materials at the national level or for individual states. Although fully thirty states routinely provide statistics on age differences in marriage,<sup>2</sup> only six report age at divorce—none, apparently, by age of spouse.<sup>3</sup> The same situation exists in 1950 U.S. Census tabulations, which include a table on age differences in marriage,<sup>4</sup> but nothing on divorce. Studies reported by private investigators (Bossard,<sup>5</sup> Burgess and Cottrell,<sup>6</sup> Terman,<sup>7</sup> and Locke,<sup>8</sup> among others) have likewise been limited in scope or comparability.

As might be expected from national statistics, men getting married or divorced in Hawaii in 1957 were typically several years older than their spouses. The average groom was 3.1 years older than his bride; the median groom, 2.6 years older. In divorce cases, the average husband's age exceeded that of his wife by 3.8 years, and the median husband was 3.1 years older.

Great individual differences were apparent. Although most of the 4,897 marriages reported in 1957 involved partners differing in age by

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report, Department of Health, Territory of Hawaii, Statistical Supplement, 1957* (Honolulu, 1958), pp. 49 and 54. Age differences were inferred from the midpoints of overlapping intervals based on five-year age groups; for example, a marriage between a groom in the 30-34 group and a bride in the 20-24 group was classified as "man older, 10 years," but might indicate an age difference as little as five years or as great as fifteen years.

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Vital Statistics of the United States: 1956*, Vol. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1958), Table U, p. lxxi, and tables 2 and 3, pp. 50-51.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Table AC, p. lxxiv, and Table 17, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. IV, *Special Reports*, Part 2, Chapter E, Duration of Current Marital Status (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955), Table 3, pp. 12-13.

<sup>5</sup> Cited and discussed in Jessie Bernard, *Remarriage, A Study of Marriage* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1956), pp. 64-66.

<sup>6</sup> See Harvey J. Locke, *Predicting Adjustment in Marriage: A Comparison of a Divorced and a Happily Married Group* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1951), p. 103.

<sup>7</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

less than five years, in fifty-two cases the groom was at least a quarter of a century older than his bride, and in four others the bride was at least twenty-five years older than her husband. Grooms ranged from forty-five years older to thirty-five years younger than their partners.

Much the same pattern was evident among divorced couples. Although more than half of the 1,182 divorces and annulments granted in Hawaii during 1957 involved partners differing in age by less than five years, husbands were sometimes as much as forty years older or twenty-five years younger than their wives.

Grooms in all age groups tended to be several years older than their brides. Men marrying women 20 to 24 years old, for example, had a median age of 24.5, and those wedding women aged 40-44 had a median age of 43.4. The median age difference was relatively constant throughout the life span.

Men granted divorces likewise tended to be several years older than their partners at all age groups. Where wives were 20 to 24 years old, the median age of husbands was 27.1; where wives were in the 40-44 group, the median husband was 44.5. Age differences in divorce, like those in marriage, varied little by age of spouse.

For any given age group, women being married or divorced typically were separated by a greater age span from their mates than was the case with men in the same age group. The median age of men marrying women in the 25-29 bracket was 29.0 years, or about 1.5 years older; women marrying men in the 25-29 group, in contrast, had a median age of 23.6, or 3.9 years younger. The same tendency was evident in other age groups as well, and for both marriages and divorces.

Age differences were greater in divorced couples than in those being married. As noted earlier, the average groom at marriage was 3.1 years older than his bride, while the average man at divorce was 3.8 years older than his wife. (These means were computed from a full enumeration rather than from samples, and hence involved no question of statistical significance.) The median age difference likewise was higher in divorces than in marriages.

The ratio of divorces to marriages was highest for men far older than their wives and lowest for men much younger than their wives. There were 21.6 divorces or annulments per 100 marriages in Hawaii in 1957. By age difference of partners (as inferred from the midpoints of five-year age groups), this ratio varies in the following ways: Man older by 20 years or more, 32.2; 15 years, 31.6; 10 years, 28.0; 5 years, 20.2; no age difference, 19.6. Woman older by 5 years, 23.7; 10 years or more, 16.9.



These data suggest that marriages are most likely to be successful if the partners are in the same age group or if the woman is older. The least likelihood of success, conversely, would seem to hold for unions in which the husband is considerably older than his wife.

Findings of the present study on age differences at marriage and divorce differ but little from corresponding values for other areas. The twenty-three mainland United States jurisdictions reporting this information in 1956, for example, indicated the median groom to be 3.0 years older than his bride,<sup>9</sup> compared with 2.6 years found for Hawaii in the present study. In the six states reporting age at divorce, the median husband was 3.5 years older than his wife,<sup>10</sup> compared with 3.1 years for Hawaii.

The relationship of age differentials to marital success implicit in the Hawaiian data is not fully corroborated by other studies. According to Locke,

Burgess and Cottrell found the highest marital adjustment when ages were equal or the husband was one to three years older. Terman found the highest happiness scores for husbands when they were older by three to five years and twelve years and over, and for wives when the husband was three to five years older and four to ten years younger. The... study [by Locke] found that approximate equality of age was favorable to marital adjustment, and that if men were 3 to 4 years older than their wives, the prospects of adjustment were unfavorable.... The difference between the mean age at marriage of happily married men and women was significantly less than the difference between the mean age of divorced men and women.<sup>11</sup>

The findings of the present study must obviously be viewed as only tentative. They are based on data for only one state and one year. The age distribution of married couples for a given year bears only an approximate relationship to the corresponding age distribution for divorced persons, many of whom were married many years earlier. Studies of other areas have indicated somewhat different relationships between age differences and marital success.

Despite these limitations, the Hawaiian experience may well have value for students of marriage and divorce. Some of the findings reported in this analysis help affirm or refute conclusions based on information for other areas. More important, perhaps, the data for Hawaii indicate some of the many possibilities for research (only partly exploited here) where adequate registration systems for both marriage and divorce are in operation. Such systems are lacking in most American jurisdictions. Their extension to all states and territories is obviously a matter of considerable importance to social scientists.

<sup>9</sup> U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *op. cit.*, Table 5, p. lxxii.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Table AC, p. lxxiv.

<sup>11</sup> Harvey J. Locke, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4.



## SOME SOCIOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF WILLIAM KIRK

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The passing of William Kirk (1880-1959) on July 27, 1959, centers attention on the sociological contributions that this sociology teacher of fifty years' standing was able to make. His bachelor's and doctoral degrees were obtained from Johns Hopkins University. He was present at the organization of the American Sociological Society in 1905 in Baltimore when Lester F. Ward was elected the Society's first president.<sup>1</sup> He was an associate on the Brown University faculty with Ward for four years. After teaching at the University of Rochester and the University of California, he became professor of Sociology and head of the Department of Sociology at Pomona College from 1922 to 1946, when he formally retired, although he continued to teach for several years on a part-time basis. He was an advisory editor of *Sociology and Social Research* from 1940 to the time of his death, and he was one of the organizers and the second president of what is now the Pacific Sociological Society.

Dr. Kirk contributed a total of eighteen articles to *Sociology and Social Research*. They deal partly with methodology in sociology, but more extensively with the cultures of preliterate peoples in many lands. Some of the salient points in these articles will be presented in this paper.

### SOCIOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY

Sociologist Kirk's methodological ideas may be traced in part to the teachings of William G. Sumner. He reports that Sumner's *Folkways* would always have a prominent place in his sociological library. He tells with apparent approval how Sumner described and classified "different types of contemporary culture so that their origin and development could be systematically traced and explained."<sup>2</sup> He defines his own field of long-time research when he modestly remarks that "studies in culture contacts in other lands and analyses of preliterate culture patterns may possibly prove as fruitful in the unfolding of a science of society as the

<sup>1</sup> William Kirk, "Early Sociologists," *Sociology and Social Research*, 23: 29.

<sup>2</sup> Kirk, "An Approach to Sociological Research," *Sociology and Social Research*, 16: 337.

research of those who focus their attention exclusively upon the effects of the white man's culture upon racial minorities in this country."<sup>3</sup> He then adds that if we are ever "to study the laws of social becoming, we may need to study more carefully the social processes of preliterate or less advanced societies."<sup>4</sup> He declares that "to understand contemporary culture with its highly organized institutions and complex processes, we may soon be prompted to seek an answer in the culturally conditioned behavior patterns of simpler folk."<sup>5</sup> To avoid being guilty of the "reductionist fallacy," that is, of explaining complex-order phenomena by simple-order phenomena, he would doubtless agree with the statement that "it is not reductionism to recognize the raw materials of which the higher-order phenomena are constituted."<sup>6</sup>

Three main orders of sociological methodology are noted by our author: (a) the armchair type of Ward and Giddings, (b) the field study and case method of Thomas and Znaniecki, and (c) the quantitative method, which is widely favored in current times. Kirk believed that methods (b) and (c) are not in conflict with each other, but are complementary. He followed the field study and case methods, yet he appreciated quantitative social research as a valid method, but not as the only method. He quoted approvingly historian Thompson's conclusion that you "cannot extract quality from any amount of quantity."<sup>7</sup> He asserted that "facts in themselves are of minor importance," and that "what counts in the study of humanity is not the facts but the significance attached to them."<sup>8</sup> Moreover, according to Kirk "the most carefully derived data are seldom self-explanatory. They derive their true meaning from the intensive study of social changes and the descriptions of contemporary cultures." Even more important than methods are "superior" minds in sociology. Kirk raises the question, how can we get a greater number of superior minds into the undergraduate and the graduate classes in sociology?

#### STUDIES OF PRELITERATE PEOPLES

As a prelude to his studies of preliterate peoples, social investigator Kirk went to India in 1929, where he visited Gandhi in his home and

<sup>3</sup> Kirk, "Methods of Sociological Research," *Sociology and Social Research*, 33: 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Walter Goldsmith, *Man's Way* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959), p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> Kirk, "Methods of Sociological Research," *op. cit.*, 33: 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 33: 16.

studied Gandhi's teachings in relation to the problems of India.<sup>9</sup> This visit to India served Kirk well as a background for his studies of the culture patterns and conflicts of preliterate folk.

(a) *Maoris of New Zealand.* In New Zealand Dr. Kirk studied the culture patterns of the Maoris, a people whose ancestors came from Tahiti about 1150 A.D., bringing with them a well-established social organization of life. Some centuries later the white man came with his distinctly different type of social organization. The whites were called Pakehas by the Maoris. The latter had what they considered to be superior culture patterns, for example, "hospitality to the stranger, reverence for their dead, charity toward the needy, sympathy for the person who has been punished for a crime, no beggars or hoboos."<sup>10</sup>

The contacts of the Maoris with the white man meant that the former lost traditional prohibitions involving the crises of life, such as birth, marriage, industry, and death, and that no adequate substitutes have taken the place of these "tapas." As a result of contacts with the Pakehas, the native artisans having a trade deriving from the stone age have lost status. These contacts also have resulted in a loss of Maori lands to the Pakehas in ways considered unjust by the former. A Maori explains what once happened: "You Pakehas came to us and pointed upward with one hand to your God. Trusting you, we looked up. Then with the other hand, you took our lands away."<sup>11</sup> Recent treatment of the Maoris has shown marked improvement.

However, the Maori "is leaving behind many of his virtues and taking on the vices of an alien culture." His friendliness may be a means of this undoing. He is attracted to the Pakehas' amusements, good and bad, worthy sports, and gambling. He tries hard to hold to some aspects of his tribal organization and to some of his native customs. He is learning to use the white man's tools without necessarily becoming a Pakeha. He responds to vocational education and is striving to maintain a race consciousness, although many of the youth are forsaking the culture patterns of their elders. The Maori wants to be economically independent and to work out his destiny in his own way.<sup>12</sup>

(b) *The Aborigines of Northern Australia.* In northern Australia Kirk found peoples whose culture was strongly developed, but more different from the white man's culture than that of any preliterate

<sup>9</sup> Kirk, "Will India Follow Gandhi?" *Sociology and Social Research*, 14: 342-57.

<sup>10</sup> Kirk, "Social Objectives in Maori Culture," *Sociology and Social Research*, 20: 332.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 20: 333.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 336.

people whom he had studied. So great is the chasm that chiefly misunderstanding exists between the aborigines and white men. Whenever the aborigines consider that their tribal laws and customs are at stake, they are adamantly loyal to them. Even if detribalized, the natives feel inclined at times "to drop civilized life and return to the free and easy ways of the bush," as a release from the tensions of civilization.<sup>13</sup>

Kirk reports "a softening process" that takes place "as soon as the detribalized natives leave their bush ways behind them." Many become "hangers-on and ne'er-do-wells in or near a white settlement."<sup>14</sup> When the white man sweeps aside the native's customs and his self-respect, "the work of personal and social demoralization goes steadily forward."<sup>15</sup> The aborigines are aware that "the white man has taken away their hunting grounds," and hence, *the sources of their food supply*. They resent having their tribal sanctuaries desecrated and the right and freedom taken away from them "to roam over their ancestral domains." Hence, tribal law will not forbid the stealing of cattle from the Pakehas.<sup>16</sup>

Because of great cultural distances between the aborigines and the European settlers, "the native peoples of the occupied territories for the most part" are becoming "indolent wards of the state," or remaining "uncivilized nomads making a steady progress toward race extinction."<sup>17</sup> To avoid these dire results, Kirk suggests that persons contacting the aborigines learn to speak their language, study "the kinship system with its avoidance taboos," understand "the various rituals, ceremonies, and tribal law, and work through the elder men to modify or remove objectionable features," encourage the latter to substitute more civilized practices for offensive ones.<sup>18</sup> When the white teachers have tried to introduce new methods "without taking the trouble to understand the native mind," and have been zealous for "quick results," they have blocked the normal processes of cultural accommodation.

(c) *The Aborigines of Formosa*. When Kirk visited some of the 150,000 aborigines of Formosa, he found that they had long been engaged in cultural conflict with the Chinese, whose ancestors had come from the Mainland as early as about 600 A.D., and who had driven

<sup>13</sup> Kirk, "The Aboriginal Family in Northern Australia," *Sociology and Social Research*, 22: 315, 317.

<sup>14</sup> Kirk, "Social Conflict in the South Seas: Australia, New Zealand, and Formosa," *Sociology and Social Research*, 28: 343.

<sup>15</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 345.

the natives from the lowlands and plains. Some of the natives who had remained had become "civilized" aborigines. The descendants of the early Chinese immigrants have had great contempt for the natives and have treated them "as Americans have treated the Indians," bartering with them, "cheating them and driving them" back into the mountains.<sup>19</sup> In describing at considerable length the different customs of the preliterate Formosans, Kirk points out that they live largely by a moral code based on custom and tradition, that public opinion is strong, and that "each one considers his own personal interests and the interests of the tribe as one and inseparable."<sup>20</sup>

When the Japanese were ceded Formosa at the end of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, they inaugurated a program of rapidly changing the culture of the Chinese Formosans and the aborigines. The latter already had "an intense hatred for all foreigners," and hence came to view the Japanese invaders as "deadly foes." The Japanese enforced social changes by using "force of arms" where necessary, and thoroughgoing educational methods, particularly for the young. The chief aims were to develop a Japanese national spirit, to promote acceptance of the Japanese language, and to blot out native customs. Shinto shrines were to be substituted for the natives' shrines.<sup>21</sup> The Japanese even tried on occasion "to pull a village up by the roots and transplant it at the foot of the mountains," but the plan was met with open rebellion.<sup>22</sup>

The Japanese methods increased cultural conflicts and increased social distance. The Japanese plan to make factory workers over night out of free mountain dwellers met with failure. The rapid-fire, wholesale, domineering methods of forcing cultural change violated the natural processes of attitude and value change.

(d) *The Ainus of Japan.* The Ainus, Kirk observed, were "originally a numerous branch of the Caucasian race" coming into Hokkaido from the north; their skins were light brown, not Mongolian yellow, their eyes were "horizontal rather than slanting" in appearance, their men "wore heavy beards and moustaches." The Japanese arrived on the island of Hokkaido about the beginning of the 16th century and began to assume control more or less gradually. Apparently they did not show a high degree of race prejudice, and many of the Ainus assumed friendly

<sup>19</sup> Kirk, "Social Organization Among the Primitives of Formosa," *Sociology and Social Research*, 25: 504.

<sup>20</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> Kirk, "Social Change in Formosa," *Sociology and Social Research*, 26: 14.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

attitudes.<sup>23</sup> As a result the cultural contacts are not known for violence and hatred, as has happened elsewhere where higher developed and lower developed peoples have come together.

Kirk describes at some length the primitive culture traits of the Ainus, and reports on the cultural changes that have been taking place. Inter-marriage of Japanese young men and Ainu girls has been resulting in acculturation favoring the dominant Japanese culture. Kirk had the experience "of entering more than one hut in the late afternoon or early evening to find an Ainu man drinking tea Japanese fashion with a young Japanese woman."<sup>24</sup>

The Ainus' hospitality to the stranger appears to be a factor in allaying cultural conflicts. While cultural adjustment has been taking place on the part of the younger Ainus, the older people still maintain their Ainu customs as long as they live. Even some of the younger Ainus will receive a "call to the mountains" after "a season with the plodding Japanese." Following this temporary reversion "to the aboriginal folk-ways," the younger Ainus "regain their old interest in life."<sup>25</sup>

An important aspect of the cultural changes being experienced by the Ainus is the way that "the children of the two races play together, go to the same schools, and are given the same cultural ideals and standards."<sup>26</sup> The Ainus and the Japanese were found by Kirk to be participating freely "in games and sports side by side." By this emphasis, the Japanese are pictured as "absorbing the Ainus racially and culturally," over a period of time and without violence.

(e) *Indians of Mexico.* Mexico's slow growth as a nation and her "many failures" were found in Kirk's studies to be due in part to "the constant clash of racial cultures which have characterized Mexico's social development." In fact, Toltec, Mayan, Aztec, Mixtec, Spanish, and Colonial cultures have "all met the same fate and have been caught between two cultures—the language and folk-ways of his native tribe, and the language and city ways introduced and sustained by an alien people."<sup>27</sup> The contrast in cultures is pointedly described by Kirk. As long as the Indian in Mexico is left to his own devices, he "is not acquisitive—money means little to him so long as he is not associating with the

<sup>23</sup> Kirk, "Culture Patterns Among the Ainus of Japan," *Sociology and Social Research*, 24: 308.

<sup>24</sup> Kirk, "The Disappearing Culture Traits of the Ainus," *Sociology and Social Research*, 24: 422.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 411.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 422.

<sup>27</sup> Kirk, "Cultural Conflict in Mexican Life," *Sociology and Social Research*, 15: 355.

white man."<sup>28</sup> He lives in "a simple, economic order" and hence is able "to feel the thrill of creative workmanship," as illustrated in his pottery. Kirk found a "remarkable persistence of native culture" and that the folk lore, folk song, and the folkways are "playing a most important role in molding the behavior patterns of the villagers."<sup>29</sup>

But the city ways in Mexico are gaining at the expense of the village ways, and "the sharpest cultural conflicts" are between "city people who represent Latin culture and country folk who are Indian."<sup>30</sup> The result? It will be neither "alien Spanish nor indigenous Indian, but a fusion of the two," a culture that will be "better adapted than either one of these to the contemporary needs of the Mexican people."<sup>31</sup>

Three factors, according to Kirk, are bringing about cultural changes in Mexico. These are, first, the agrarian revolution, involving the breaking up of large haciendas, where often a type of worker has been produced "who is afraid to stand on his own feet and work out his own salvation."<sup>32</sup> A second factor is the rural "action" school, which is a health center, a civic center, and a technology center. A third factor is the growth of a new nationalism, with its cry of Mexico for Mexicans, including the fusing of cultures and the rise of a new Mexican culture neither Spanish nor Indian, but a fusion of the two.

(f) *The Maya-Quiches of Guatemala.* In the highlands of Guatemala, Kirk found another and different type of cultural situation. The Maya-Quiches were "independent, self-reliant, and probably within their own highland culture were on their way to greater and farreaching intelligent accomplishments,"<sup>33</sup> until conquered and almost destroyed by ruthless Spanish Alvarado and his associates. They had a handicraft economy, well-established moral codes, a remarkable knowledge of astronomy, a system of hieroglyphics that is still baffling modern interpreters. The people have not recovered, and until recently their culture has been at a standstill. Today, although these primitive people outnumber their superiors, the urban "ladinos," about two to one, they are more or less helpless.<sup>34</sup> Their culture is held together by their "singular religious faith and devotion of the native tribes," supplanted by the

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 357.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 359, 360.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 364.

<sup>32</sup> Kirk, "Current Social Movements in Mexico," *Sociology and Social Research*, 15: 406.

<sup>33</sup> Kirk, "Social Change Among the Highland Indians of Guatemala," *Sociology and Social Research*, 23: 320ff.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. E. S. Bogardus, "A Social History of Guatemala," *Sociology and Social Research*, 38: 323ff.



Catholic religion, with the native religion "showing through" in a number of ways.<sup>35</sup> Changes are taking place in the cultural contacts of rural natives and the urban ladinos, who are chiefly mixed racial groups.

Another interesting factor enters the picture, for the upper classes are holding back the natives, lest the latter, outnumbering the former, may some day "take over." The status of the native is kept low for fear his innate abilities, once stimulated, may enable him to overthrow the present class in control. Education of the natives is fostered to a degree, some occupational opportunities for them are afforded, but with limitations for fear that they will "threaten the power of the ruling class." Moreover, the latter assert that the native Indians "can not be raised above their present cultural level and should not be."<sup>36</sup> Thus, cultural stagnation of the natives is to a certain extent fostered. However, the natives are subject to contacts with people of other countries, who come on business, as tourists, as missionaries, as propagandists of a better social day for the natives. Potential cultural conflicts are in the making.

(g) *Chaco Indians of Paraguay.* In Paraguay Kirk visited defenseless Indian tribes who have been driven "farther and farther away from the white settlements into the more desolate regions," who are "fighting a losing battle against the inroad of civilization, but gradually adjusting themselves more or less to the ways of the white man."<sup>37</sup> The Indians lack status, as illustrated by the fact that "no self-respecting Paraguayan cares to admit that he has any Indian blood in his veins."<sup>38</sup> This attitude creates cultural distance and makes the bridging of racial chasms difficult.

The cultural distance is not helped much by the type of education provided Indian children. For example, "children are expected to memorize, not analyze,"<sup>39</sup> and they are not trained to understand the social dilemmas in which they find themselves. They do not learn to think in terms of meanings or to plan ways of bettering their backward social situation.

Life in the native villages is described by Kirk as being "simple and well-balanced" before "the coming of the white man." Then, the simple life underwent "a radical change," and cultural confusion reigned for the Indian. Diseases were introduced, and "shrewd traders" plied the Indians with strong drink and took unfair advantage of them.<sup>40</sup> Even

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 329.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 332.

<sup>37</sup> Kirk, "Culture Traits of Paraguay Indians," *Sociology and Social Research*, 30: 339.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 342.

<sup>39</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 352.

"the words of the kindly and well-intentioned missionaries speak little meaning," although their deeds "of courage, self-sacrifice, and moral integrity" speak louder than words. Where the whites and Indians meet is largely a cultural medley in which neither understands the culture of the other.

(h) *The Natives of South Africa*. After a somewhat extended and illuminating description of the various culture patterns of the Zulus, one of the native tribes of South Africa,<sup>41</sup> Kirk indicates some of the cultural changes that these preliterate people are undergoing. The most disturbing change is induced by the call of the white man to the Zulu men to leave their homes and go to work in factories in urban centers and in the gold and other mines. This migration for periods of time has separated husband and wife, father and children, introduced the men to the vices of the white men's centers, given rise to "shanty towns," forced a loss of respect for certain moral standards, and caused a breakdown of native family life.<sup>42</sup>

Another social situation with cultural ramifications that Kirk analyzes is the conflict between the Dutch and English, both of European descent, on one side, and the various natives tribes on the other. The white people have ideas of racial superiority and inferiority that they are trying to put into effect by legislation, despite the fact that they are outnumbered nearly four to one, under the policy of *apartheid*, or separateness. The large majority, that is, the natives, are consigned to limited areas of undeveloped territory, except as they are invited to the cities and mines for periods of time to meet the white man's need for laborers. Because they are denied representation in the national government, the right to work in certain skilled trades, a freedom of movement, except through an irksome system of "passes," they have developed deep feelings of inferiority and of injustice. Although increasing opportunities are given them in their native but limited "reserves," they are growing increasingly resentful, and bloodshed is impending. The cultural chasm is not being bridged.

Kirk portrays the cultural distance between those of East Indian descent and the primitive natives. In the riot of January, 1949, when 140 persons were killed and 1,000 were injured, the competition for recognition and status supported by wide cultural differences stood out in all its ugliness.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Kirk, "Cultural Patterns of the Zulus," *Sociology and Social Research*, 35: 315-30.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 330.

<sup>43</sup> Kirk, "Race Relations in South Africa," *Sociology and Social Research*, 36: 3-13.

Other cultural differences are described, such as those between persons of British descent and persons of Dutch descent (the Afrikaners, who are in the majority in the government). Kirk sums up the cultural situation in South Africa very briskly, as follows: "Cultures clash: Malay, Cape Coloured, Indian, native, Afrikaners, English, Moslem, Hindu, Catholic, heathen, Dutch Reformed."<sup>44</sup>

#### SUMMARY

The foregoing introduction to William Kirk's eighteen contributions on cultural patterns, conflicts, and changes of preliterate people may be evaluated as follows:

1. These articles, which contain a wealth of data about culture in widely separated parts of the world, are acquiring increasing historical value.
2. Although they are based on first-hand visits that were made ten, twenty, or more years ago, they represent cultural differences and conflicts that are still very much in operation.
3. They illustrate in sociological detail how the contending parties in each conflict situation do not understand the culture patterns of the other party.
4. They make evident not only that the people with the more developed culture do not understand the people with the preliterate culture, but that they are moving with undue brusqueness in their social contacts with the latter.
5. The people of the more advanced culture all too often fail to understand or have respect for the vital meanings that preliterates have for their elaborate and deeply defined culture systems.
6. The primitive is found to be "more successful in living up" to his laws and customs than the white man is in observing his own laws and customs.
7. A far-reaching conclusion is that "the individual in a simpler community" quite as much as in a highly developed civilization lives "for and by his institutions," and these institutions for their part "give the individual confidence in himself, courage to fight on in spite of adversity, and a continuing interest in worthwhile goals."<sup>45</sup>

The value of Kirk's work is to be found in his detailed contributions to the foregoing generalizations in many cultural situations in widely separated areas of the world, particularly at times when such ideas were not so extensively accepted by sociologists as they are now.

<sup>44</sup> Kirk, "Race Relations in South Africa II," *ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>45</sup> Kirk, "Social Conflict in the South Seas: Australia, New Zealand, and Formosa," *op. cit.*, 28: 352.

## PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

*Brigham Young University.* The Sociology Department has become the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, with thirteen full-time faculty members. Added this academic year are Dr. Glenn M. Vernon, who formerly taught at Central Michigan University, and Dr. Evan T. Peterson, previously at Mississippi State University.

Dr. William G. Dyer, Dr. Vernon W. Larsen, and Dr. La Mar Empey are on leave this academic year. Dyer is with the National Training Laboratory, Larsen is working in community development under the auspices of the University of Saskatchewan, and Empey is the recipient of a Ford Foundation grant to experiment with and evaluate a delinquency rehabilitation program begun in Provo three years ago.

*College of the Pacific.* M. Lewis Mason, a doctoral candidate at the University of Kansas, has joined the staff to teach anthropology. Professor David Bruner has been appointed to the Technical Advisory Committee for the Aid to Needy Children program of the California Department of Social Welfare.

*Occidental College.* Stuart D. Johnson, a doctoral candidate at the University of Washington, has joined the Department as instructor in sociology.

*Portland State College.* Dr. Thomas M. Newman has joined the staff as an anthropologist. He has received a postdoctoral fellowship from the National Science Foundation for research in Sierra Leone. Dr. Lois R. Dean is joining the staff in Sociology this spring. She was formerly Research Director, Kansas City Study of Adult Life.

Dr. John James is on part-time leave as Research Director, Oregon Study of Rehabilitation of Mental Hospital Patients. Charles S. Brant spent the summer of 1959 conducting an exploratory community study sponsored by the Center for Community Studies, University of Saskatchewan. Dr. Charles Frantz is continuing research on race relations in Southern Rhodesia, sponsored by the Ford Foundation and the University of Chicago.

The offices of the Oregon Board of Census have been moved to this campus. Warren E. Kalbach, Director, holds a joint appointment with the Board and with the College.

*Sacramento State College.* Dr. Sidney Eisenberg has been appointed assistant professor of social welfare. Sharad Malelu, a doctoral candidate at The Ohio State University, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

Dr. Leonard Cain, associate professor of sociology, will serve as visiting associate professor of sociology and social institutions at the University of California in the spring and summer sessions, 1960. Dr. Wilson Record has received a grant from the William Volker Fund for a three-year study of counseling and cultural conflict in public school systems. He and Dr. Jane Cassels Record are coauthors of *Little Rock: U.S.A.*, to be published by Chandler this spring. Dorothy Zietz is author of *Child Welfare: Principles and Problems*, published by John Wiley & Sons. She is engaged in research on attitudes of delinquents toward correctional institutions.

*University of British Columbia.* Bernard R. Blishen, Director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, is conducting a study of the socialization of medical students. Dr. Reginald A. H. Robson has received various grants for a study of the choice and rejection of the academic career. Dr. Kaspar D. Naegle has returned from a year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University.

*University of Colorado.* The Institute of Behavioral Sciences has received support from the National Institutes of Health for a second year of study of cultural values and behavior patterns of a tri-ethnic community in southwestern Colorado.

*University of Southern California.* Drs. Georges Sabagh and Maurice D. Van Arsdel, Jr., have received a three-year grant from the Haynes Foundation for research on sociopsychological factors in intrametropolitan mobility in Los Angeles County. Drs. Edward C. McDonagh, Thomas E. Lasswell, Georges Sabagh, and Maurice D. Van Arsdel, Jr., each received grants from the University's Faculty Research and Publication Fund for the year 1959-60. The Department is offering graduate training programs in demography and ecology. Research assistantships in these areas are available for 1960-61.

*Washington State University.* Dr. Milton A. Maxwell, who has been appointed to an advisory committee on alcoholism for the State Health Department, directed a three-week workshop at the University of South Carolina and was on the faculty of the Yale Summer School of Alcohol Studies. Dr. Ivan Nye, Director of the Sociological Research Laboratory and editor of *Marriage and Family Living*, has resigned, effective September, 1960, to accept a position as professor of sociology and Director of the Interdivisional Doctoral Program in Marriage and Family Living at The Florida State University.

ROBERT HORNIMAN DANN  
1889-1959

Robert Horniman Dann, professor emeritus of sociology at Oregon State College and long-time member and past vice-president of the Pacific Sociological Society, died in Corvallis, Oregon, on August 18, 1959. He left his native England at the age of 16 and came to the United States by way of Canada. His college training was received at what is now George Fox College (B.A.), Haverford College (M.A.), Harvard University, University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Washington. He was on the staff of Oregon State College from 1927 until his retirement in 1956. From 1957 to 1959 he was visiting professor at the College of the Pacific.

Professor Dann will long be remembered for the warmth and friendliness which he brought into his relationships with people both in and out of academic circles. His interests as a sociologist were focused on the major institutions, giving particular attention to the survival of some of the untenable beliefs which are handicapping institutional adjustments. Over a period of years he gathered data from a number of states to test the frequently voiced contention that capital punishment tended to deter crimes. These data led him to the conclusion that there was no such deterring effect and that the continued acceptance of the above contention seriously interfered with efforts to bring the treatment of criminals in line with the conclusions of behavior scientists. He took an active part in the Oregon Prison Association and was board president from 1948 to 1950.

Another area of interest to Mr. Dann was the sex ratio of babies. His carefully gathered data gave no support to the at one time popular belief that nature compensated for the loss of great numbers of men during war time by changing the sex ratio of babies in postwar years.

EDWARD A. TAYLOR  
1902-1959

Edward A. Taylor, professor of sociology and chairman of the Department of Sociology at Linfield College, died June 30, 1959, at the age of 57, while waiting to leave from Montreal, Canada, for a summer tour of Europe. He received his M.A. in sociology from Washington State College in 1926, his Ph.D. in sociology from Cornell University in 1931. From 1931 until 1943 he taught at Ohio University in Athens; from 1943 until 1945 he served in the Army Air Force, where he became head of the Information and Education Department of the Santa Ana

Preflight School. He returned to Ohio University in 1945 and served as chairman of the Sociology Department until 1950, when he suffered a serious illness of a number of months. Following his recovery he accepted the position of chairman of the Department of Sociology at Linfield College in Oregon, where he remained for the nine years preceding his death. Edward Taylor was a thoughtful, friendly, stimulating teacher, a favorite of students, esteemed by colleagues, deeply respected in his community.

## SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND WELFARE

**DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR: CULTURE AND THE INDIVIDUAL.** Prepared by William C. Kvaraceus and Walter B. Miller, with the collaboration of Milton L. Barron, Edward M. Daniels, Preston A. McLendon, and Benjamin A. Thompson. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1959, pp. xiv+147.

**DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR: PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES.** Prepared by William C. Kvaraceus and William E. Ulrich, with the collaboration of John H. McCormick, Jr., and Helen J. Kelly. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1959, pp. ix+350.

These companion volumes are designed to present an integrated theory of delinquency and outline a program for the identification of potential delinquents, also to provide guidelines for school administrators and others to understand a delinquent's behavior and assist him to live in such a way that he does not come into conflict with the legal-societal normative system. The first volume is of special interest to social scientists, for it surveys briefly the theoretical aspects of delinquency designed to provide a meaningful understanding of delinquent behavior as an aspect of adjustive process in school and society. The discussions deal with the meaning of delinquency, causative aspects, interpreted in terms of the interaction of personality and environmental forces, suggested typologies, norm-violating behavior and class status, psychodynamic aspects of delinquency, and related items. The second volume, as the subtitle indicates, is a practical guide in identifying youngsters who need help in the classroom; providing help for them in the classroom, through the curriculum, through integrated special services and classes; working with families, law-enforcement and court personnel, and with community agencies. An annotated bibliography provides a convenient source of information regarding books and pamphlets on the subject.

M.H.N.



**OLD AGE AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR. A Case Study.** By Frank A. Pinner, Paul Jacobs, and Philip Selznick. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959, pp. x+352.

In this case study of the California Institute of Social Welfare, the authors describe sociologically a unique organization of older citizens that has had considerable political influence and that has been developed and directed by, chiefly, one man, whose major avenue with the membership has been over the radio. A number of significant conclusions of a sociological nature have been reached, such as the following: Since the CISW is not "an integrated part of the community," its actions "tend to be lacking in responsibility and effectiveness." The organization is "sustained by a fluctuating core of devoted, selfsacrificing members." Further, the organization "is basically unstable" being "dependent upon continuous exhortation by an indispensable leader." The leader relying largely "on one-way communication as the main nexus between leader and members" makes it relatively easy for him "to develop and proclaim policies without membership participation."

A large amount of interview materials is reproduced in the text. These quotations show how the older people in question, already receiving some kind of old-age assistance, are subject to a great deal of "status-anxiety." These statements seem to reflect the attitudes of many older people who suffer from loneliness, uncertainty, and lack of mental peace. E.S.B.

**INDUSTRIAL MAN. BUSINESS AND BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS.** Edited by W. Lloyd Warner and Norman H. Martin. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959, pp. xi+580.

This well-organized and finely conceived volume consists of a collection of essays, mostly related to those who are playing the roles of executives, corporate officers, and businessmen in our industrial society. The articles selected are by writers who have long been interested in the dynamics of industrial relations, or in the analysis of the various phases and processes occurring within the configuration of the industrial structure, or in many diverse research projects that have been carried out in the industrial field. Organized into ten major divisions, ranging from an orientation chapter on businessmen and business life to the issues and dilemmas of management, the essays deal with such factors as the personalities of managers, occupational and social mobility, management tasks and goals, the social structure of business enterprise, and management ideologies. Those concerned with management will find the essays easily comprehensible and probably fruitful. Some of the essays are

either sociologically or social psychologically flavored, while some are most significant for their content of leadership materials. While many of the materials involved are not essentially new, the editors have so arranged them in sequential relationship that much new meaning and significance emerge from them. Among the writers in the field who are represented are Abegglen, Drucker, Dale, W. F. Whyte, Bakke, W. H. Whyte, Jr., Merton, and, of course, editors Warner and Martin. Tribute is paid to novelist J. P. Marquand through the inclusion of an extract from his *Point of No Return*, which deals with the problem of how to be a success in the eyes of a big business executive. The picture of industrial society is well caught by the camera eye of the editors.

M. J. V.

**INTERNATIONAL SURVEY OF PROGRAMMES OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.** By the Bureau of Social Affairs, United Nations Secretariat and other International Agencies. New York: United Nations, 1959, pp. iv+190.

This is the second survey of programs of social development in the nations of the world. It was accomplished so each country could benefit from the experiences of other nations and to provide information useful to underdeveloped countries in the evaluation of their own social policies. The first survey was concerned mainly with measures carried out between 1945 and 1953, while the present survey reports changes since 1953 with particular emphasis on 1957 and 1958. This survey relied upon information supplied by governmental and nongovernmental organizations in response to circular letters sent out by the United Nations. Other information available to the United Nations and specialized agencies was also utilized.

Two broad classes of social actions were prominent in the second period: (1) reforms of property relations and of worker-employer relations and (2) measures designed to guarantee a minimum level of living or protection against emergencies for specified groups, or ideally for the whole nation. This report also includes information on health, housing, labor, education, social security, rehabilitation, public administration, rural development, rural community, and rapid urbanization programs. The survey reports that one social measure or another described in the first survey has been applied over a wider area, that certain principles and techniques are being tested in practice, and that social measures of laws adopted piecemeal are being coordinated and systematized with apparent success. Measures that have failed and needs that

remain unfilled are not stressed in this survey. Students of social problems and programs developed for their resolution will find this report a rich source of information.

WOODROW W. SCOTT

*George Pepperdine College*

**INDUSTRIE UND BETRIEBSSOZIOLOGIE.** By Ralf Dahrendorf. Berlin, Germany: Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1958, pp. 120.

Inexpensively and in pocketbook format, Dahrendorf nevertheless presents a scholarly survey of the development of industrial sociology. He first examines the definition, concepts, and methods of industrial sociology. This leads him to historical considerations, and the various experiments in industrial sociology, such as the Elton Mayo and the Hawthorne experiments, to which he devotes a chapter, and to the present-day situation of research. An important chapter deals with the social structure of industry, a structure which the author divides into a "formal," an "informal," a status, and a class organization. An excellent Index and an adequate bibliography for the German reader are included. However, it seems significant that the three major sources on which Dahrendorf bases his little text are American, namely, W. E. Moore's *Industrial Relations and the Social Order* and *Industrialization and Labor*, and D. C. Miller and W. H. Form's *Industrial Sociology*.

HANS A. ILLING

**WORKBOOK AND READINGS IN SOCIOLOGY.** By Theodore I. Lenn. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1959, pp. 321.

This workbook is integrated with John F. Cuber's *Sociology: Synopsis of Principles*, 4th edition, 1959, and is made available by the same publisher. There are 33 chapters, which parallel Mr. Cuber's text. Each chapter is composed of a "self-test" and two selected readings that are intended to illustrate conflicts and significant issues in the sociological literature, as well as substantiating the material found in the accompanying text. A convenient cross-reference chart at the end of the workbook enables the student to choose collateral reading on topics from 19 different introductory sociological textbooks currently in use.

*Workbook and Readings* will provide a desirable supplement of both substantive material and basic concepts for the beginning student in sociology.

HAROLD G. HUBBARD

*Los Angeles State College*  
*Extended Day Division*

UNIONS AND UNION LEADERSHIP. *Their Human Meaning*. Edited by Jack Barbash. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959, pp. xxii+348.

Jack Barbash, now professor in the School for Workers and Department of Economics at the University of Wisconsin, states that, as editor of this enlightening book on the human meaning of unions and their leadership, he desired to "give the reader some feeling for and understanding of the union as an enterprise made up of live human beings." This he has accomplished rather successfully with the aid of an altogether fine framework created for illuminating the readings which he has fitted into this framework. In it the reader may review articles dealing with the structure and government of the labor movement, its major functions, and its problem areas, as well as the patterns of unionism.

Barbash's description of the framework is in itself a kind of prolegomenon for gaining a comprehensive view of how the government of, and in, unionism is maintained. Five sections of the book deal with the broader aspects of the labor movement in the United States, with such leaders as Meany and Reuther, with union styles, with conflict situations, and with some special problems attendant upon politics, automation, racketeering, and the Negro worker. Some of the articles are by Selig Perlman, Daniel Bell, S. M. Lipset, Philip Selznick, and Joel Seidman, while a few have been culled from *Business Week*, the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and the *Monthly Labor Review*. The readings succeed in giving a well-balanced view of what goes on in the labor movement, the relationship of unions to the community, and a sometimes revealing glance into the minds of some union leaders while functioning for a cause.

M.J.V.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH BY RADIO AND TELEVISION. By Elmer E. Smead. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959, pp. vii+182.

Radio and television are two of the most outstanding mass media of communication and entertainment. Freedom of communication, and at the same time its control in the public interest, is a problem that is of vital concern to a democratic nation. The author is regarded as a leading expert on freedom of communication. In this book he analyzes and discusses the complex problems involved in governmental control of radio and television, especially the programs, also the allocation of broadcasting station frequencies.

Perhaps the most important contribution of this study is the clarification of the issues involved in programing and related public interest matters. The successive chapters come to grips with programing and other

public interest problems, news broadcasting, government versus self-regulation, conflicting freedoms, and politics in regulation. In describing the problems involved, the author gives specific instances of broadcasting stations and programs that have created difficulties and required government controls. Some of the regulatory measures of the Federal Communications Commission are negative in form. They indicate program practices that are considered contrary to the public interest, including those with offensive content, lotteries and give-aways, horse races, defamation, and certain types of advertising and continuity. Other problems of broadcasting in the public interest involve diversity and balance of programs, commercial-sustaining balance, broadcasting of controversial issues, and news broadcasts. Considerable differences exist as to how much government regulation is necessary and how much of the control of broadcasting should be left to the broadcaster. The issue of conflicting freedoms has not been dissolved. Politics tend to play a part in government regulation.

M.H.N.

## PEOPLES AND CULTURES

**HAWAII.** A Novel by James A. Michener. New York: Random House, 1959. pp. 937.

In an explanatory note, the statement is made that this work is "true to the spirit and history of Hawaii but that the characters, the families, the institutions and most of the events are imaginary" and that only one character, an English school teacher by the name of Blake, is "a historical person" who lived in Hawaii. However, there is a recognizable relation of the characters, racial types, and events to real aspects of the history of Hawaii.

The novel begins with a dramatic account of the volcanic origins and building up of the Hawaiian Islands. It describes the life and traditions of the Tahitian ancestors of native Hawaiians and of the hardships endured on the first journey in a swift canoe, moved by oars and a small sail. The native Hawaiians are described in one place as being "clean, free from repulsive tropical diseases, had fine teeth, good manners, a wild joy in living; and they had devised a well-organized society"; but to one of the missionaries they were "for the most part illiterate, steeped in idolatry, committed to vain shows of monarchical display," in short, they were "vile."

The religious ideas of the New England missionaries, the hardships they endured in coming by way of Cape Horn to the Islands in the

1820's, and their determination to convert "the heathen" are extensively described.

The importation of the first Chinese coolie laborers, their mistreatment on the ships that brought them to the Islands, and their employment in the sugar cane industry are made vivid. The importation of Japanese laborers, the differences in habits and culture patterns between them and the Chinese laborers are made clear. The broader-minded treatment of them in Hawaii after "Pearl Harbor" than in California and the loyalty of the Nisei during World War II are emphasized.

The breaking away of some of the missionaries from New England and of their children from missionary goals, and their formation of the big industrial companies are given extended space. The ways in which the "big companies" controlled the schools and the legislature are indicated. Their losing fight to keep out competition from Mainland companies, to prevent the formation of labor unions, and to maintain social control generally is given a full account.

The author sees in Hawaii today "a faint glimmer of the ultimate brotherhood in which the world must one day live." But "in an age of Golden Men it is not required that their bloodstreams mingle, but only their ideas clash on equal footing and remain free to cross-fertilize and bear new fruit." Racially, scant attention is given to the Filipino immigrants; still more serious is the lack of space given to the fine educational work that is being done in the Islands, especially of the large and growing University of Hawaii. Moreover, the emphasis on negative social forces sometimes beclouds the activities of the positive ones.

E.S.B.

**JAPANALIA.** By Lewis Bush. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1959, pp. 311.

This informative compendium, published for the first time in the United States, was written by a long-time resident of Japan. First published in 1938, this fifth edition has been revised and enlarged, and to the basic material of former editions have been added brief resumés of the latest historical events and social changes that have taken place in postwar Japan. Arranged in alphabetical sequence, this *aperçu* includes much sociological data, ranging from the folkways to the various institutions of Japan. It is well illustrated with 151 sketches and 32 photographs. Among the many excellent pictures are those of an aged Ainu couple, a Shinto-style marriage ceremony, and the age-old public bathhouse.

The comprehensive appendix itself is a vast source of information, and included is a topical bibliography. As a brief encyclopedic reference for all those interested in Japan and her culture, this terse volume should prove of great value.

I. ROGER YOSHINO

*University of Arizona*

**THE NEWCOMER, NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS IN A CHANGING METROPOLIS.** By Oscar Handlin. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959, pp. xiii+171.

In the Foreword it is explained that this "is one of a series of books on the forces that shape metropolitan areas." It deals in particular with some of the racial changes taking place in "a 22-county expanse" which includes parts of three states and which has been called "the Metropolitan Region" of New York.

After presenting data of a historical nature, the author proceeds to describe the coming of the newest immigrants to the area, the Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The South's "discrimination practices" and "the relative freedom of the northern industrial centers" explain in part the coming of Negroes. The Puerto Rican comes partly because of better economic opportunities than at home, but strives "to avoid the stigma of identification with the Negro," which he does "by establishing himself as a Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican."

The patterns of adjustment of these two groups of newcomers are discussed in detail and thoroughly. While the incidence of delinquency and crime is high, it is accounted for to a large extent by the deteriorated social conditions under which these peoples live, by the lack of adequate communal institutions, and by the scarcity of "responsible leadership that will give order and purpose to their lives." New insight is afforded by this treatise into the problems and needs of the latest "newcomers" to metropolitan New York.

E.S.B.

**BIENNIAL REVIEW OF ANTHROPOLOGY 1959.** Edited by Bernard J. Siegel. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959, pp. vi+273.

Compilations of research titles for a given period of time may not be a novel idea, yet editor Siegel has added innovations that may prove of interest to the reader. This is no ordinary compilation of titles, but rather one which is annotated in smooth prose form, each section connected logically with the others, reminiscent of a collection of articles on a



broad subject. The discussions of physical anthropology, cultural change, social organization, and language may be somewhat standard in anthropological reviews and, of course, varying in interest for the sociologist; however, the chapter on Soviet Anthropology is unique in its presentation of work done in that country. The idea of having a political scientist contribute a chapter on political anthropology is a valuable one, as is the inclusion of a chapter considering psychocultural studies. That the editor states that the innovations will be expanded in the future holds hope for an ever-increasing worth of the volumes. This first work in what is to be a series of such works holds great promise for the interested scholar.

In considering this volume and the editor's plans for future ones, sociologists might well give thought to a similar work for their own field, which like its anthropological predecessor would prove a valuable source book for the teacher and researcher.

HAROLD A. NELSON

**SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII.** Honolulu: Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory and the Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii. Volume 23, 1959, pp. 76.

Of the ten articles in this research volume, the one on Community Types in Hawaii by Andrew W. Lind is undoubtedly the most important. It describes seven types, namely, Hawaiian subsistence communities, homesteading communities, independent farming communities, ranching communities, plantation communities, the military post, and urban communities, which are overshadowing all other types. This article gives a structural framework for the other papers, which deal with localized areas and groups, such as Kohala, a Rural Microcosm (by F. L. Tabrah) and Kalaheo Village, a New Community (by Emma K. Huneno).

Because of the increasing attention being given to the Puerto Rican immigrants in New York, the paper on Hawaii's Puerto Ricans: Stereotype and Reality (by Robert W. O'Brien) is of special interest. For a variety of reasons, not fully their fault, the Hawaiian Puerto Ricans have had a great deal of difficulty in getting ahead economically and in other ways. Their hope rests in part in developing a new leadership. Each volume of *Social Process in Hawaii* makes substantial additions to an understanding of social life and development in one of the most interesting island communities of the world.

E.S.B.

## SOCIAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

**THE SMALL GROUP.** By Michael S. Olmsted. New York: Random House, 1959, pp. 159.

After defining the small group, the primary group, and the secondary group, the study moves on to a consideration of some case studies of group behavior. A group is defined as "a plurality of individuals who are in contact with one another, who take one another into account, and who are aware of some significant commonality." The distinction between a primary group and a secondary group is the difference "between the 'affective' and the 'instrumental' aspects of group life." The terms, small group and primary group, are somewhat interchangeable except that the first term is more or less neutral in its implications, while the second term includes the role of "feelings and relationships among members."

Attention is given to the function of groups, to the effect of the group on the individual, and to the nature and function of "group culture." By group culture is meant "the ideas, beliefs, norms, and standards which members of groups hold by virtue of their membership." The "social structure" of a group is defined as "the patterns of relations among the members."

Group dynamics is examined, and a paradigm of "group dimensions" is presented with implications too numerous to be reviewed here. Emphasis is placed on "dimensions of social activity" as distinguished from "dimensions of cultural symbols"; likewise, "instrumental activity" is set apart from "expressive activity" of groups. Leadership receives limited examination in this work, which is written with clarity and characterized by original contributions to the analysis of small groups.

E.S.B.

**GEORG SIMMEL. 1858-1918.** Edited by Kurt H. Wolff. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1959, pp. xv+396.

Made possible by a grant from the Ohio State University Development Fund, this volume, containing a collection of essays by a dozen contributors on the writings of the late German sociologist, Georg Simmel, with several translations and a bibliography, is a splendid and even notable tribute. Among the contributors aside from the editor are

Howard Becker, H. D. Duncan, Lore Ferguson, and Kurt Gassen. All are gifted with fine analytical ability for the purpose of presenting Simmelian thought. From the contributions and translations there emerges Simmel the philosopher, the metaphysician, the historian, the sociologist.

Donald Levine, in discussing Simmel's social thought, points out that Simmel used the method of causal resolution and directed it toward the study of phenomena by attempting to ascertain what comprises its form or essence. The problem of sociology was to identify "the pure forms of association," and the "sociologist is to intuit forms of interaction which are constant and recurring." Weingarten avers that above all Simmel was a "philosopher of culture" in an essay entitled, "Form and Content in Simmel's Philosophy of Life." Simmel dwelt continually on man, his life, and his creations, and became intrigued with his announcement that life is more-life, "the complex fact that at every moment life transcends its present, that it is a process whose motion is continuous," the past really becoming the present, and the present venturing into the future. Tenbruck's essay on formal sociology defends Simmel from several American criticisms indicating that Simmel's sociology was a mere catalogue of human relations. Not so, for Simmel understood and deeply comprehended the objective unity of his sociology, but at that time "lacked the proper tools for an adequate conceptualization" of what he had discovered.

For Simmel, the object of investigation was not society, since it could not be studied as a unit, but "sociation," and "society is a composite of these forms of sociation." Thus Simmel avoided the predicament that "plagues much of modern sociology, the cleavage between the theory of social structure and the theory of social change." Professor Duncan nicely remarks that the "virtue of Simmel's model of sociation may be summed up by saying that he keeps our attention focused on the specifically sociological aspects of social experience"; moreover, "those who attempt creation of sociological models without reading Simmel delude themselves." Several translations gathered from the writings of Simmel conclude the volume, all revealing his penetrating and profound insights into the nature of life and more-life and its recurrent processes. Valuable and rewarding reading, the title might have been "Simmel Re-observed and Restored."

M.J.V.

**AMERICAN HANDBOOK OF PSYCHIATRY.** By Silvano Arieti, Editor.  
New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959, pp. c+2098. Two Volumes.

This voluminous handbook of 100 articles, contributed by 111 noted psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, psychologists, physicians, and others, covers a wide range of subjects. Many of the contributors are on the staffs of the leading medical schools of the United States. Most of them have M.D. degrees. Five of them, besides the editor, constituted an editorial board.

The work represents a serious effort to present the "development, concepts, trends, techniques, problems, and prospects of psychiatry, in a form useful for both the expert and the beginner, in which every leading school of thought and every major approach is included." Some of these approaches converge, others diverge; but it is believed that until a synthesis is achieved, one must follow a diversified and multiple approach.

For psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, psychologists, practicing physicians, therapists, and others who treat psychiatric patients, this is an indispensable source of information. For the social scientists, including the social psychologists in particular, numerous articles or parts of articles are of special interest, including discussions of personality theory, the family and the community of the psychiatric patient, statistical data about mental illness, the various forms of deviations (sexual, drug addiction, alcoholic), juvenile delinquency, psychiatric problems of adolescence, communications, the various forms of therapy, social psychology, clinical psychology, social work and family care, and mental hygiene. Considerable attention is given psychoneuroses, functional psychoses, psychosomatic medicine, organic conditions, therapeutic treatment, the care of patients, and related subjects. The reader is impressed with the amount of valuable information on such a wide range of subjects, most of which is up-to-date and in accordance with recent scientific developments. Here and there one can find the use of outmoded terms. Some writers rely rather heavily on Freudian concepts and interpretations. Occasionally, contributors include material of a general nature or from outside their special field of competence. This is understandable, for the field of psychiatry and the application of psychiatric knowledge and techniques are complex and deal with a wide variety of conditions and problems. It is difficult for any specialist to keep up with developments in all phases of psychiatry. This is an added reason for the publication of a handbook on the subject. Most of the articles present data on developments and trends, basic concepts, techniques, problems, and possibilities of future developments.

M.H.N.

HOUGH, CLEVELAND, OHIO: A STUDY OF SOCIAL LIFE AND CHANGE. By Marvin B. Sussman and R. Clyde White, with the collaboration of Eleanor K. Caplan. Cleveland: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1959, pp. x+95.

The Hough Area Project was conceived as "an objective and exact description of the facts about Hough, its people, their hopes, wishes, needs, and living conditions" and was intended primarily for the use of persons interested in social welfare programs in that area. Hough is not a separate incorporation, but is an area of Cleveland, Ohio, about two square miles in size. In 1956, Hough had about 82,500 inhabitants in approximately 21,000 dwelling units. It has been an area of high spatial mobility recently; almost half of its 1950 population is no longer there. Five per cent of the 1950 population was nonwhite; in 1957 nearly sixty per cent was nonwhite. In clear contrast with Cleveland's statistics, crime and delinquency rates in Hough about doubled during the period 1950-1957.

In addition to the usual methods of gathering and ordering demographic data, the research team interviewed 401 heads of households to obtain further information. The interviewees were selected by random sample from each of the ten census tracts of the Hough area. Some of their findings are: Forty-seven per cent of the heads of households were born in the South; about twelve per cent of the population are southern whites. About seventeen per cent of the households are in classes I-III (Hollingshead's ISP), about three fourths fall into classes IV and V. Nonwhites are about twice as likely to own their homes as whites. Nonwhites in the sample have slightly more education than whites. When the population is broken down by occupation, nonwhites predominate in unskilled occupations, white in sales, clerical, and technical occupations; but the remaining categories—professional, business, skilled, and semi-skilled—are more nearly equal in distribution. A higher proportion of nonwhites than whites reported voting in a recent election. Nonwhites reported more dissatisfaction with community services than whites.

Generally speaking, the book is well written, precise, and to the point. The results are clear cut and may easily be used for comparison with those that might be obtained in other communities. The defense of the use of white and nonwhite categories in reporting the data will be of interest to persons concerned with race relations. Although this study was presumably not intended to have any particular theoretical import, it suggests a number of hypotheses which might well be investigated for their theoretical potential.

T.E.L.

**MASS COMMUNICATION. A Sociological Perspective.** By Charles R. Wright. New York: Random House, 1959, pp. 124.

It is remarkable how much research material has been digested and presented under an original pattern of organization and discussion in this small book. Communication is defined as "the process of transmitting meaning between individuals." In this work the author succeeds well in taking "an initial step toward a sociological analysis of the process and social consequences of mass communication." The distinctive operating conditions of mass communication, "as a special kind of communication," are defined as "the nature of the audience, of the communication experience, and of the communicator."

The "audience" is "a relatively large, heterogeneous, and anonymous" group of people. The "communication process" is "public, rapid, and transient." The "communicator" . . . "works through a complex organization embodying an extensive division of labor and an accompanying degree of expense."

Perhaps the most important chapters are those dealing with the "sociology of the audience" and the "cultural content of American mass communication." The discussion of the social effects of mass communications makes clear how little is known about these effects and how great is the need for research in this field. No index is included in this otherwise well-rounded and clearly treated analysis.

E.S.B.

**PERSONALITY AND ORGANIZATION.** By Chris Argyris. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957, pp. xiii+291.

Subtitled "The Conflict Between System and the Individual," this book, while attempting to erect a framework for the formulation of a theory of organizational behavior, focuses attention first on "the question of why people behave the way they do in organizations." Argyris, who reports in the preface that during the past six years he has helped to establish behavioral science curricula in an engineering and business school (Yale), has now undertaken his first step "at integrating existing research literature relevant to understanding human behavior in on-going organizations." It is a singularly successful first step. Emphasized at the beginning is the announcement that human behavior is caused by any one or a combination of: individual factors (personality factors); small, informal group factors (social psychologic); and formal organization factors (traditional principles of organizing people). A fourth factor arises from the interaction of these three factors.

Bringing his research experiences to bear upon his theoretical approach, the author discusses the human personality in terms of its demonstrations of behavior needs, and the formal organization in terms of its demands on individuals, noting that the demands are incongruent with the personal needs. The analysis of the research work accomplished by the many consulted experts is revealed mainly under the captions of "individual and group adaptation" and "management's reaction and its impact upon the employees." Several of the findings are: frustration, failure, and conflict result from the lack of congruency between needs and demands; employee adaptive behavior maintains self-integration, thus impeding integration with the organization; certain management reactions tend to increase antagonisms; and finally, reality-oriented leadership may minimize the effects of the adaptive behavior of employees impeding formal organization.

M.J.V.

**DIE GEISTIGE GESTALT GEORG SIMMELS.** By Margaret Susman. Tuebingen, Germany: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1959, pp. 40.

In the third in a series of monographs of the Leo Baeck Institute of Jews from Germany, the author attempts to delineate the *geistige* and the "human" figure of Simmel. There are, approximately, three phases in Simmel's thinking: philosophy, sociology, and the humanities. The principal two works of the first two phases are *Philosophie des Geldes* and *Soziologie*; of the latter are Goethe, Rembrandt, and Rodin. Simmel started and ended his philosophical and sociological career with Kant, and considered sociology as a new science in so far as sociology is the essence of all other sciences formulated in a new way. Sociology is the science of man "continuously interrelated with other men as well as with objects." "Cause, change, and relationship are everything." According to the author, there are two words which Simmel uses over and over again: *vielleicht* (perhaps) and *sozusagen* (so to speak). The author sums up Simmel's sociology as *die Seele die das Bild der Gesellschaft und die Gesellschaft die das Bild der Seele ist* (sociology in which the soul is the picture of society, and in which society is the picture of the soul—translating *Seele* more accurately with "soul" rather than with "spirit"). Briefly, the author also mentions Simmel's personal conflicts as a Jew who, although born in Berlin, never felt as a "native German," and refers to Simmel's wife, who as "a pure German was always alien to him (Simmel)," an opinion not shared by this reviewer. This monograph, because of its conciseness and comprehensiveness, is a worth-while tribute to Simmel.

HANS A. ILLING



**SOCIOLOGIE ET RELIGION.** By Alain Birou. Paris: Les Editions Ouvrieres, 1959, pp. 265.

The first half of M. Birou's book might be titled as the social tenets of Roman Catholicism, and the latter half could be labeled as a philosophy of social science. Indeed, the first two parts of the book are a history of the church from the social viewpoint. In the third and longest part of the book, one finds an attempt to systematize sociology, particularly religious sociology, with special attention to Marx and Durkheim, and with lesser attention to William James, Joachim Wach, Georges Gurwitsch, and others. On the other hand, it is remarkable how little space is devoted to Max Weber, Troeltsch, and other sociologists of religion.

Substantially, the book appears as an attempt to clarify the author's ideas as to what constitutes sociology and what the latter can offer religion. He criticizes sociology for its narrow quantitative approach and for its reluctance to accept philosophy as an integrating agent. The approach is not entirely negative, for he finds a middle course in what he calls scientific humanism, which he deduces by a high-level Aristotelian logic. Nor is the author unaware of a number of contemporary movements in social science, ranging from sociometry to cybernetics. Finally, there is a sizable bibliography at the end of the book.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON  
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**A TECHNIQUE FOR MEASURING VALUES IN RURAL LIFE.** By Murray A. Straus. Pullman: Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations, Institute of Agricultural Sciences, Washington State University, Technical Bulletin 29, 1959, pp. 34.

In the "forced-choice techniques" described in this document, the respondent is asked to choose the one phrase out of four descriptive statements "which is most like himself and the one phrase which is least like himself." The answers to twelve sets of "tetrads" are used to form a profile. This technique is somewhat like the paired comparisons technique, although superior in at least one way. The resultant Rural Attitudes Profile as designed shows certain variables, namely, innovation proneness, rural life preference, primary group preference, and economic motivation. As far as the experiments have thus far been conducted, this technique promises well for use in making rural sociological studies.

E.S.B.

**STRENGTH OF MEN AND NATIONS.** *A message to the U.S.A. vis-a-vis the USSR.* By William E. Hocking. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959, pp. viii+248.

The basic contest today between nations is "the contest for men's minds." In considering this struggle, the author seeks "the deeper grounds of strength," and in so doing also finds the bases of national weakness.

The author describes our advertising system as one having a bill "running toward billions of dollars," "and borne, of course, by the consumer." Moreover, "each competing novelty can be made to appear superior to every other!" The financial costs are "essentially a bill for falsehood," not necessarily with reference to facts, for "its falsities are lies of emotion." These falsities are more insidious than lies of fact; they are irrefutable, and "they infect the mind." The author finds that "the art of publicity today" is for lure, "making the worse emotion—or none at all—appear a bit of Paradise." And the result? "Our society is being led toward chronic emotional inebriety."

The author asserts that there is no pure capitalism or pure communism in any nation today. Moreover, each is undergoing changes. Each has strong and weak characteristics. The USSR has an advantage as stated by Secretary of Defense McElroy in that she "is plowing back a larger percentage of her gross national product than America into capital investment for industrial expansion." On the other hand, Hocking asks if there is "a silent, pervasive seduction of American fiber as an incident of its admirable system"? Free enterprise "builds and it corrupts," simultaneously. Moreover, it is claimed that the motivation of the producer, which is the profit motive, is for "his own profit, not the nation's, not the consumer's." Further, the free competition "of self-interested groups has no inherent tendency to produce justice." It is such weaknesses as these that must be overcome if the U.S.A. is not to be undone by "the temper of collective resolve common in the USSR." The author fears the results of the "earnestness of striving toward national objectives" of the Russians, and he would have our country take steps to offset the softening tendencies that he regards as being subtly a part of the free enterprise system.

It is not for the UN to make the necessary changes in any nation's internal economic and political system, but it exists to develop "a workable code of international practice and of law, workable under present conditions." A major international problem is to effect first "a dismantling of the distrust among nations." Until this is done, disarmament will

not make headway. The strong point of this book is Dr. Hocking's analysis of some of the strengths and weaknesses of the U.S.A., with particular emphasis on the latter that must needs be corrected, and soon. The discussion centers on nationalism, not internationalism.

E.S.B.

**MODERN ORGANIZATION THEORY.** Edited by Mason Haire. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959, pp. x+324.

In the vein of the columnist I predict that this book will spark many proposals for additions to curriculums. The "face" of industrial sociology and, indeed, of the sociology of the "social order" in general has undergone drastic physiognomic surgery during the past fifteen years. The "constructions" and "reconstructions" of Gibbs, Shannon, von Neumann, Wiener, Lewin, Tolman, and others have so affected the vision of social scientists that their subject matters are at last appearing as genuine "bodies" of knowledge. Since this book will go far to condition future studies of social institutions, it is regrettable that at least one chapter on the significance of the above-mentioned men was not included. Let us hope that this oversight can somehow be remedied so that the continuity of the sciences will be preserved. Although the health of the economy of ideas is founded on borrowing, to give credit where credit is due is the honesty in action that insures exactitude in thought.

This symposium presents such a variety of "views" of the subject that one is reminded of the versatility of the word "view" in its denotation of thing seen, way of seeing, representation, and outlook. Organicism seems, however, to describe the common *point d'appui*. The anatomy of industrial relationships is outlined by the use of the concepts of linkage, level, and bond, as well as those of interaction, activities, and sentiments. Throughout the book the reduction hypothesis is more or less at work. On the physiological side, processes are discussed in relation to motivation, the transmission of information, and decision making; and these in turn are referred back to their connected "structures" by one or another variation of the homeostasis concept.

Although the criterion of empirical verifiability appears to be an ideal of most authors, von Mises' notion of "connectibility" is very much at work. For this and other reasons we look forward to another Institute of Industrial Relations product that will take proper account of the "analytic school" and the latter work of Wittgenstein and Ayer.

HAROLD DIEHL

*Los Angeles State College*

**THE MOTIVATION TO WORK**, Second Edition. By Frederick Herzberg, Bernard Mausner, and Barbara Bloch Snyderman. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959, pp. xvi+157.

Utilizing the observations and conclusions of 200 studies of management personnel, the authors develop and carry out a study that results in a practical theory of job motivation, job satisfaction, and job attitudes. The study involves the analysis of factors-attitudes-effects units of workers as reported by them about their feelings of high or low motivation or satisfaction with work. Two pilot project studies of three firms were utilized before the major study of the workers of nine companies in and about Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was undertaken.

The posteriori approach of factor analysis was employed in the analysis of the "thought units" of the workers gathered in the interviews. The study found that the wants of workers may be divided into two groups. One group revolves about the need to develop one's occupation as a source of personal reward and personal growth. The second group operates as an essential base to the first and is associated with fair treatment in compensation, supervision, working conditions, and administrative practices. The fulfillment of the needs of the second group satisfies the needs for worker hygiene and prevents job dissatisfaction. The satisfaction of the first group of needs motivates the individual to high levels of job satisfaction and extra performance on the job. This study sets forth new ideas concerning work motivation and merits careful analysis by students of industrial psychology and industrial sociology.

WOODROW W. SCOTT

*George Pepperdine College*

**SOCIAL MOBILITY IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY**. By Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959, pp. xxi+309.

Built upon the thesis that social mobility, the process by which persons move from one stratum of society to another, is an integral and continuing aspect of industrialization, this book covers many recent studies that have been conducted on the subject, as well as venturing forth into the construction of new related hypotheses. The authors label their use of some of the studies as a method in secondary analysis. They have based much of their thought on the secondary analysis of the 1949 Oakland Labor Mobility Survey, and have brought together much relevant international research data on social mobility. The introductory chapter offers

a kind of classic utterance on the relationship among status, roles, and mobility. Two basic reasons for mobility are given, namely, changes in demand for performance and changes in supply of talent. The analysis of mobility includes a study of the relationship between the starting point and the point reached at the time of analysis as well as the means of mobility and the consequences to those who move.

Considerations are given to such factors as backgrounds of education, acquisition of skills, access to people of various social levels, intelligence, and motivation to seek higher status. Mobility rates are higher in the cities than in smaller towns and rural areas. Some consequences of mobility are related to changes in friends, neighborhood, political and religious affiliations, and even name. Pointed out and analyzed are some studies which have indicated that those who move upward are trained earlier for independence, come from mother-dominated families, deal with others instrumentally rather than emotionally, and have higher rates of certain mental disturbances. All this offers a fine contribution to the integration and systematization of the subject of social mobility.

M.J.V.

**FUNDAMENTALS OF POPULATION STUDY.** By T. Lynn Smith.

Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1960, pp. xviii+542.

This text has been prepared to introduce the study of population to undergraduate students at colleges and universities in the United States. Several other works on population published by the author between 1940 and 1952 have established him in this field. Therefore, the present text is the culmination of many years of research, teaching, and writing.

Methods and techniques featured in the author's former text, *Population Analysis* (1948), appear again in this new volume, but a decade of development has brought new insight and perspective for the population process in general. Some topics commonly dealt with in population analysis have been omitted, e.g., genetics, demographic aspects of economic development, and the social consequences of population changes. Otherwise, the general pattern for population analysis is maintained—the number and geographic distribution of the population of the United States and of the world, the composition of population, the vital processes affecting fertility, birth rates and death rates, and the effects of migration. Study aids and questions for review or discussion appear at the end of the volume.

J.E.N.

**COMPLETED RESEARCH IN HEALTH, PHYSICAL EDUCATION, AND RECREATION.** Compiled by Alfred W. Hubbard and Raymond A. Weiss. Washington, D.C.: Research Council of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, Vol. 1, 1959, pp. 60.

This first of a series of annual reports of both published and unpublished research in health, physical education, and recreation includes articles that appeared (chiefly in 1958) in 53 United States and foreign periodicals, and gives summaries of most of them. Graduate research studies as reported by 26 universities and colleges are included. In the index, cross references are given for all the listings. The compilation of bibliographical data combines the activities of two Research Council committees, one reporting research completed as reported in journals, the other compiling and abstracting Masters' theses and Doctors' dissertations. As may be expected, extensive research is being conducted in such fields as athletics, health, physical education, recreation, and professional training in these fields; but a number of studies deal with social and sociopsychological aspects of leisure and recreation.

M.H.N.

**INTERNATIONES SOZIOLOGEN-LEXIKON.** Edited by Wilhelm Bernsdorf. Stuttgart, Germany: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1959, pp. viii+662.

The aim of the book is to present to both the teacher and the student of sociology a survey of the lives, teachings, and writings of the "representatives" of sociology, "from its beginnings and throughout the world." This seems to be an ambitious endeavor and it is obvious that such a project could only be solved to a fair degree of success if the editor and his collaborators were to receive the wildest possible cooperation of their colleagues from the four corners of the globe. It seems that they did.

The chief editor divided the principal countries where sociology is taught, practiced, and researched into groups, each group having a sub-editor. Thus the editorship for the United States was in the hands of Joseph Maiers of Rutgers University, who in turn was responsible for the biographical sketches of American sociologists. Other countries included are Latin America (in collaboration with Jiri Nehnevajsa of Columbia University), England, France, Eastern Europe (including the Iron Curtain countries), China, Japan, South Africa, and Russia. Every biographical entry is signed, usually by the editor, meaning that relatively

few collaborators undertook a gigantic amount of research, since below each biographical sketch a bibliographical listing of the "principal works" is given.

A cursory browsing through the *Lexikon* (encyclopedia) seems to reveal that the representation of American sociologists is quite comprehensive. However, more important, to the American student of sociology this volume will come as an invaluable resource in the research of foreign sociologists and their contributions to sociology. HANS A. ILLING

**DAILY LIFE IN THE TIME OF HOMER.** By Emile Mireaux. Translated by Iris Sells. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959, pp. 264.

A rather thorough survey has been made in this book of the main aspects of life in Homeric times, including such topics as: the life of a nobleman, peasants and soldiers, women, popular festivals, public games, religious and intellectual professions, the family, the manor house, expatriates. As the translator in the preface succinctly says: "A whole world of men and women, with their cares and anxieties, their fears and their hopes, rises from the ashes of the past, lives and moves before our eyes." Social classes appear to have been based on the possession of land. Such possession seems to have played a major role in governing the structure of the family. Although "traditionalistic," Homeric society "was moving toward individualism, democracy, and cosmopolitanism." Largely descriptive, this work offers materials for further sociological analysis.

E.S.B.

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

**GROUP METHODS IN SUPERVISION AND STAFF DEVELOPMENT.**

By Arthur C. Abrahamson. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959, pp. xi+201.

Among the subjects treated in this book are such as these: definitions of group work concepts, skills and techniques in teaching group work, group work principles and their application. Considerable space is given to group conference case studies; and a selected bibliography is appended.

**CENTURY OF STRUGGLE.** By Eleanor Flexner. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959, pp. 384.

Historical account of an important social movement, giving many details that throw light on human nature. The leaders in this women's rights movement in the United States receive special attention. This authoritative work is well documented.



**NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES AND RECORDS. Volume XX.**

Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1959, pp. viii+246.

A number of the fourteen historical articles in this attractively printed volume contain materials of sociological significance. Prominent among these are: History and Sociology (Peter A. Munch), Ibsen in America (Einar Haugen), and Pioneering in Alaska (Knut L. Gravem).

**FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE AGING. By Ethel Shanas. New**

York: Health Information Foundation, 1959, pp. 17.

In this cross-section study of 1,734 persons 65 years old and over, it was found, among other things, that 60 per cent are receiving money from social insurance programs. If expenditures for medical care reach up to \$500, about 40 per cent would draw on their savings to meet all or part of these expenses, and another 40 per cent "would mortgage property, borrow on life insurance, ask help from their children, turn to public assistance" or charity. Ten per cent would say, "I just couldn't pay such a bill."

**AMERICA, THE HOPE OF THE AGES. By P. J. Anthony. Boston: The**

Christopher Publishing House, 1959, pp. 297.

In connection with an explanation of how America is "the hope of the Ages" by virtue of her ideals, for example, her ideal of personal liberty, the author suggests extending America's reach to bring in Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Liberia as states, and then other countries as territories, and so forth, until America has become in herself a kind of United Nations of the world.

**IN LEAGUE WITH THE FUTURE. By Erma Angevine. Chicago: Co-**

operative League of the U.S.A., 1959, pp. viii+90.

The document contains biographical sketches of the 129 persons who have served as directors of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. since its founding in 1916. The nature of the activities of each director, not only in the League but in other cooperative organizations, is pointed out. A very fine and comprehensive table showing the time and the particular years of service of each of the directors is appended. Mrs. Angevine's noteworthy contribution to the history of the cooperative movement in the United States will increase in value as the years pass by.

**FUNDAMENTALS OF ECOLOGY.** By Eugene P. Odum. In Collaboration with Howard T. Odum. Second Edition. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1959, pp. xvii+546.

Ecology is defined as "the science of the living environment" or "environmental biology." It includes autecology, which deals with the study of the adaptation of the individual organism or an individual species to the environment, and synecology, which is the study of how groups of organisms adjust to their environment. Then, there is marine ecology, fresh-water ecology, and terrestrial ecology; and, more recently, radiation ecology. The book concludes with a few pages devoted to human ecology, as one field of the broad science of ecology.

**THE CONGRESSIONAL PARTY. A Case Study.** By David B. Truman. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959, pp. 336.

In this discussion of "some reliable patterns in Congressional behavior," the author analyzes, among other procedures, the roles of the leadership elements in party structure and method. In these and other important connections, a case study was made of the 81st Congress of the United States.

**SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS OF MASS TRANSIT IN SELECTED AMERICAN CITIES.** Joel Smith. East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1959, pp. 26.

The findings show that "the convergence of such factors as a large population," . . . "a labor force engaged rather heavily in manufacturing and a higher growth rate for the periphery than for the central city, are associated with relatively heavy reliance on systems of mass transportation for downtown trips."

**THE HOUSE OF THE DOUBLE AXE. The Palace at Knossis.** By Agnes Carr Vaughan. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1959, pp. 240.

The author has done a fine piece of reconstruction of social history in reporting on the family life, religious observances, recreational activities, the role of women, and so forth, in the city of Knossis and of the Minoan society about 1500 B.C. The extensive frescoes seem to have yielded much for this carefully reconstructed picture of ancient life on the island of Crete.

**SOCIAL SERVICE IN HAWAII.** By Margaret M. L. Catton. Introduction by Wayne McMillen. Palo Alto, California: Pacific Books, 1959, pp. xv + 308.

In Part I the history of casework agencies in Hawaii since the first one was established in 1852 is summarized, while Part II records the history of medical social services in Honolulu and other Hawaiian communities. The book constitutes a valuable historical document.

**JOHN DEWEY: DICTIONARY OF EDUCATION.** Edited by Ralph B. Winn. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959, pp. x + 149.

The editor has combed the writings of Dewey for crisp sayings, and has neatly arranged them in alphabetical order of topics from "abstraction" to "youth." Although the title of the book or article for each quotation is given, the page references for follow-up reading are missing.

**THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL PROBLEM.** Edited by Alfred E. Kuenzli. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959, pp. x + 319.

In this group of fourteen papers are the following: Perception and Interpersonal Relations (Hadley Cantril), Autistic Hostility and Social Reality (Theodore M. Newcomb), Communication: Its Blocking and Facilitation (Carl R. Rogers), Projective Methods for the Study of Personality (Lawrence K. Frank). It is explained that "the phenomenal question is simply, what is there? without regard to why, whence, or wherefore" (Robert B. MacLeod).

**NOMOGRAPHY.** Second Edition. By A. S. Levens. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959, pp. viii + 286.

In this new edition of a book first published in 1948, the author gives attention to new developments in alignment charts and related research devices, such as "the application of nomographic methods to test the validity of experimental data curves that are assumed to be consistent with the relationship among the variables," and the development of the "duality principle" and its possible applications. New attention is given to "the geometric method" and the "determinant method" in the development of basic theory.

**MASS PRODUCTION AND MONEY.** Two volumes. By Whitney H. Slocomb. Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1959, pp. I: xlviii + 1172 and II: 2036.

# Sociology and Social Research

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May-June and later

Traits of Tropical African Peoples .....	MILDRED R. MARCUS
Changes in Concepts of Sociology .....	R. H. PITTMAN
Sociology of Alfred Weber .....	RUDOLF HEBERLE
Labor Changes in 1959 .....	MELVIN J. VINCENT
Urbanization in the Philippines .....	PAUL F. CRESSEY
The Role of the Nurse .....	JAMES S. DAVIE
The Status of Status .....	W. W. BURCHARD
White Teachers in Desegregated Schools .....	R. J. DWYER
Sociology of William F. Ogburn .....	MEYER F. NIMKOFF
Subcultures of Families .....	I NYE AND E. MACDOUGALL
The Balanced Ethnic Work Group .....	WOODROW W. SCOTT
Comparisons in Rates of Social Change .....	EDWARD GROSS
The Perception of Social Status .....	THOMAS E. LASSWELL
Social Distance in Greece .....	PANOS D. BARDIS
Sociological Contributions of Znaniecki .....	THEODORE ABEL
The Critical Incident Technique .....	THELMA BARNES
Social Controls in British Race Relations .....	FRANK F. LEE
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Attitudes of Guatemalan Students .....	SOLOMON LIPP
Factors Hindering Mate Selection .....	KARL M. WALLACE

### *Articles in Preceding Issue . . .*

January-February 1960

Distance Mechanisms of Stratification .....	P. L. VON DEN BERGHE
Planning for Social Change .....	MARY H. LYSTAD
Status: a Human Form of Tropism .....	EDWARD C. McDONAGH
Comte's Position in Sociology .....	RUSSELL MIDDLETON
Danish Institute of Social Research .....	HENNING FRIIS
Social Change in Pakistan .....	K. SHAH AND J. B. EDLEFSEN
Concepts in Sociology .....	EMORY S. BOGARDUS



